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THE MYTH OF HERCULES AT ROME

BY
JOHN GARRETT WINTER
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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THE MYTH OF HERCULES AT ROME

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THE MYTH OF HERCULES AT ROME

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

No character appealed more strongly to the myth-making consciousness of antiquity than that of Herakles, or Hercules. The national mind of Hellas early idealized him and made him the model of all that seemed to it to be great and admirable. The potency and personality of the pre-Argive god of healing[1] spread until he became the hero most referred to and most represented in all ancient times,[2] the *ἥρως θεός*[3] whose choice between *ἀρετή*[4] and *κακία* became for later Greek thinkers a type of the logic of evaluation,[5] and whose life of toil and triumph was the

[1] Gruppe, Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte, vol. 1, p. 453; Furtwängler, in Roscher's Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie, vol. 1. 2, p. 2138. Herakles is considered pre-Achaean by Ridgeway, Journal of Hellenic Studies, vol. 16 (1896), p. 100; Early Age of Greece, vol. 1, p. 640. Cf. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion, pp. 347, 348.

[2] Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, p. 451, 479; Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2135 ff.; Walters, History of Ancient Pottery, vol. 2, pp. 94-108.

[3] Pindar, Nemean Odes, 3, 22.

[4] Xenophon, Mem. 2. 1, 21 ff.; Philostratus, de Vit. Soph., p. 496 (210); Welcker, Kleine Schriften, vol. 2, p. 466 ff.

[5] Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, vol. 3. 1, p. 110 ff; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 102 ff.

embodiment of both the ideal and the evangel of the Dorian people.[1] "Mensch gewesen, gott geworden; mühen erduldet, himmel erworben"[2] is the essence of the myth, as it is the essence of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's brilliant study.

The Roman mind, sure in its faith that institutions can be traced to some individual founder,[3] conceived of Hercules as the founder of one of the city's oldest shrines.[4] For the legend of his arrival at the Tiber's side was regarded as the most ancient fact in the pseudo-history of Rome, anterior even to the legend of Romulus.[5] And of the founding a peculiar tale was told which stands forth as the only really mythical portion of the Roman religion.[6] For Roman religion, running to cult rather than myth,[7] knew of no hero-worship in the sense in which it was known in Greece.[8] The myth is centered about the institution of the *ara maxima* with its many and peculiar cult practices. It is an integral part of Roman religion as none of the many forms of the Herakles myth ever was for

[1] Pindar, Nem. 1, 33-72.

[2] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 38; cf. Usener, Sintfluthsagen, p. 65; Jebb, Trachiniae, *Introd.*, p. xii.

[3] Cf. Carter, Religion of Numa, p. 9.

[4] Livy, 1. 7.

[5] Pais, Ancient Italy, p. 236.

[6] Fowler, Roman Festivals, p. 196.

[7] Marquardt, Römische Staatsverwaltung, vol. 3, 2te Aufl. (Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer, vol. 6), p. 2.

[8] Preller, Römische Mythologie, 3te Aufl., vol. 2, p. 269; Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer, p. 8: "Die römische Religion kennt keine *ἱεροὶ λόγοι*, keine Götterehen und Götterkinder, keine Heroenwelt, die zwischen Gottheit und Menschheit die Brücke schlägt, sie hat mit einem Worte keine Mythologie."

Greece; for while the Greek Herakles appealed to the popular imagination, he appears never to have entered deeply into the religious life of the people. But for the Romans Hercules fulfilled a real religious need, and apparently satisfied true aspirations. In passing from Greece to Rome he seems to have taken on a new seriousness more in keeping with the character of the people that welcomed him. The quest of the Roman Hercules is thus at once a study of both myth and religion wherein lie many unexplained and perhaps inexplicable difficulties.[1]

But while many difficulties remain, perhaps no myth has so surely been gaining in clearness of form and content in recent years. Among the scholars who have discussed it in whole or in part may be mentioned Heffter,[2] Hartung,[3] Metzger,[4] Schwegler,[5] Mommsen,[6] Hillen,[7] Bréal,[8]

[1] Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p. 219; cf. Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, p. 457.

[2] Ueber Mythologie, Neue Jahrb. f. Philologie u. Paedagogik, vol. 2 (1831), pp. 440-445.

[3] Ueber den römischen Hercules, als Probe einer Darstellung der römischen Religion nach den Quellen, Program, Erlangen, 1835 = Religion der Römer, Erlangen, 2 vol., 1836, vol. 2, pp. 21-31.

[4] Pauly, Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft, vol. 3, Stuttgart, 1844, article Hercules, pp. 1175-1182.

[5] Römische Geschichte, vol. 1, Tübingen, 1853, pp. 364-376.

[6] History of Rome, Eng. trans. by Dickson, New York, 1900, vol. 1, p. 230. Derivation of Hercules, Die unteritalischen Dialekte, Leipzig, 1850, p. 262.

[7] De Herculis Romani Fabula et Cultu, Monasterium, 1856.

[8] Hercule et Cacus, Paris, 1863; reprinted in Mélanges de Mythologie et de Linguistique, Paris, 1877, pp. 1-161. The latter is the work cited in the following pages. Cf. the review of Fr. Spiegel, Zeitschrift f. Vergleichende Sprachforschung, vol. 13 (1864), pp. 386-392.

Preuner,[1] Reifferscheid,[2] Preller,[3] Marquardt,[4] Türk,[5] R. Peter,[6] Fowler,[7] Dürrbach,[8] and Wissowa.[9]

Attempts have been made to find a new meaning in an old myth or to find a new myth with an old meaning, and inasmuch as the literature cited by R. Peter in Roscher's Lexikon[10] is not complete, I shall review it briefly here. Heffter, wishing to show by example how mythology should be studied, chose the myth of Hercules at Rome. For this purpose he collected a number of references from ancient literature, gave their general content in brief form, and attempted to account for the epithet *victor*. But the first to make a critical study of the myth was Hartung, who advanced the view that it was purely Italic in origin, that the hero of the myth was not Hercules but an old divinity, *Recaranus*,[11] somewhat similar to Hercules but in reality

[1] Hestia-Vesta, Tübingen, 1864, pp. 382-384.

[2] Annali dell' Instituto Archeologico di Roma, vol. 39 (1867), pp. 352-362.

[3] Römische Mythologie, 3te Aufl., vol. 2, Berlin, 1883, pp. 278-300.

[4] Römische Staatsverwaltung, 2te Aufl., vol. 3, Leipzig, 1885 (Handb. d. Röm. Alter., vol. 6), p. 377 f.

[5] De Propertii Carm. quae pertinent ad Antiquitatem Romanam Auctoribus, Halle, 1885, pp. 35-42.

[6] Roscher's Lexikon d. Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie, vol. 1. 2, Leipzig, 1886-1890, pp. 2253-2297, 2901-3023.

[7] Roman Festivals, London, 1899, pp. 193-197.

[8] Daremberg et Saglio, Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines, vol. 3. 1, Paris, 1899, pp. 124-128.

[9] Religion u. Kultus d. Römer, München, 1902 (Iwan v. Müller, Handbuch d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 5. 4), pp. 219-231; Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie d. cl. Altertumswissenschaft, vol. 3, Stuttgart, 1899, pp. 1165-1169.

[10] Vol. 1. 2, pp. 2253-2258.

[11] Religion d. Römer, vol. 2, p. 24. "Der Name des Recaranus lautet so echtlateinisch, dass wir nicht zu irren fürchten, wenn wir in ihm einen Wiederbringer oder Wiedergewinner erkennen,

only another name or personified attribute of Jupiter.[1] Jupiter was *Dius Fidius*,[2] who again was identical with *Semo Sancus*,[3] and to Semo Sancus the epithet *genius* was applied by P. Victor in the *de Regionibus Urbis, Regio VII.* But Hartung did not openly identify Jupiter with *Genius*, the tutelary god of each individual male, as R. Peter's critique would suggest.[4]

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sei es dass *gerere* (Garanus) oder *creare* dessen Stamm war."

[1] Ibid. p. 31: "So ist Recaranus zwar eine besondere Persönlichkeit neben Jupiter, aber doch so wenig von derselben getrennt, dass er in der That nur eine endliche Erscheinung oder Sichtbarwerdung desselben zu nennen ist." Cf. pp. 26, 44.

[2] Ibid. p. 44 ff. [3] Ibid. p. 47.

[4] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2256. There is no evidence to show that men called upon Jupiter as their tutelary god, i. e. as *Genius* in the sense that women called upon Juno (cf. Birt, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, pp. 1613-1625, s. v. *Genius*). And the authority for the identification of Sancus with Genius is worthless. Urlichs, *Codex Urbis Romae Topographicus*, p. 37, reads *Sacellum Senii Sangi*, with the note, *genii sangi* Parrh; *corrupt. e Semonis Sanci vel Sangi.* Reifferscheid, arguing from Aul. Gellius 11. 6, 1, attempted to prove from the fact men swore by Hercules and women by Juno that Hercules must be the *genius* of men. The reasoning is not conclusive. It is true that men did not swear by Juno or women by Hercules but the inference that Hercules was therefore the *genius* of men is a *non sequitur.* It is not known that any name was ever given to the tutelary deity of men other than that of *genius* merely: Hercules is never called *the genius.* In all the mention of *genius* singly and in connection with Juno it is significant that Hercules never occurs. Women, it is true, used the word *Juno* in this sense (cf. Otto, Iuno, Philologus, vol. 64 (1905), p. 179; Ihm. Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 2, pp. 615, 616; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p. 154), but it has not been conclusively shown that even this usage of the word Juno was old. The evidence brought forward thus far rather goes to show that it was a comparatively late idea. The exclamation *Mehercle* (cf. Festus, Ponor, p. 90, s. v. *Mecastor.*) certainly is nothing more than the Athenian oath by Herakles,

Of Hartung's theory Heffter[1] remarked: "The demonstration of the identity of Recaranus, Hercules, and Jupiter seems too ingenious still, and the whole stands in need of a new treatment."[2] Metzger[3] accepted Hartung's conclusions without question or modification. Schwegler, also, maintained that the myth was not originally a foreign one which was transferred bodily, but that it was Italic in its

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Ἡράκλειις. Back of it lay the notion of Ἡρακλῆς ἀλεξίκακος, καλλίνικος. This is clearly seen from the incantation written on a doorpost: ὁ τοῦ Δὸις παῖς καλλίνικος Ἡρακλῆς ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ · μηδὲν εἰσίτω κακόν. This is one of the earliest attributes of Herakles and one which continues till the latest times; cf. C. I. L. IV, 733; Buecheler, Rhein. Mus., vol. 12 (1857), p. 248; Heim, Incantamenta Magica, Jahrb. f. class. Phil., Sup. vol. 19 (1893), p. 509; Hellan. F. H. G., vol. 1, pp. 64, 138; Bull. Corr. Hell., vol. 15 (1891), p. 671. But Reifferscheid, quoting from memory apparently, does not interpret Gellius rightly. Gellius says nothing about Juno. What he says is that Roman women did not swear by Hercules nor men by Castor, the oath of women. Why men did not swear by Castor he cannot say: *Edepol* is good swearing for both men and women. According to Nicholson (The Use of Hercle, Edepol, Ecastor by Plautus and Terence, Harvard Studies, vol. 4, 1893, pp. 99-104) *Me(hercle)* is used altogether by men in Plautus and Terence; *Me(castor)* is used only by women; *Edepol* is used by both men and women. In Plautus men swear by Hercules 638 times, by Pollux 498 times; in Terence by Hercules 98, by Pollux 21 times. Women swear by Pollux 108 times in Plautus, by Castor 118 times; in Terence by Pollux 56 times, by Castor 7 times. This means that Pollux is almost as favorite an oath as Hercules, and no great argument regarding Hercules as *genius* can therefore be drawn from men's speech.

[1] Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed., vol. 30 (1840), p. 283.

[2] Cf. Kuhn, zur Mythologie, Zeitschrift f. deutsch. Altert., vol. 6 (1848), p. 128.

[3] Pauly, Real-Encyclopädie, vol. 3, p. 1178.

elements, that the name and conception of the Greek Herakles were superimposed upon a native Italic worship.[1] This native Italic worship was the cult of the Sabine Semo Sancus.[2] In attempting to prove the complete identity of Hercules with Semo Sancus, Schwegler thus elaborated the suggestion first made by Hartung. The superimposition was effected thus: Sancus was the chief divinity of Sabine belief, the god of heaven, of might and right, in conflict with the powers of darkness. The Sabine Sancus, furthermore, was the god of truth and oaths, the Latin *Dius Fidius*,[3] who was invoked in asseverations as Hercules was. And just as offerings of victory and gain were made to Sancus, so they were made to Hercules. Hercules was Sancus, therefore, and his worship was the Sabine worship of the heavens.[4] Following the suggestion of Kuhn,[5]

[1] Röm. Geschichte, vol. 1, p. 364.

[2] Cf. Jordan, Statua Vaticana di Semone Sanco, Annali d. Inst., vol. 57 (1885), pp. 105-126; Festus, s. v. *propter viam*, Ponor, p. 284 = M., p. 229; Varro, L. L. 5. 66; Propert., 4. 9, 74; Ovid, F. 6. 213; Pseudo-Servius, in Aen., 12. 538.

[3] Cf. Pseudo-Servius, in Aen., 8. 301; Varro, L. L. 5. 66; Nonn. Marc., p. 494; Dionys., 9. 60; Livy, 8. 20; Festus, Ponor, p. 131 = Keil; Gram. Lat., Sup., Hagen, p. 213; Dionys., 2. 49 = Cato; Peter, Hist. Rom. Frag., p. 50; C. I. L. VI, 567 ff.; Preller, Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 2, p. 273; Fowler, Rom. Fest., p. 137; Wissowa, s. v. *Dius Fidius*, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 1, pp. 1189, 1190.

[4] Preuner followed this view (Hestia-Vesta, p. 384). The argument for the identity of Hercules with Semo Sancus is completely overthrown by the finding of an inscribed statue of the god which proves his affinity not to Hercules but to the archaic type of Apollo as the god of oaths and covenants (cf. Visconti, Studi e Documenti di Storia e Diritto II, 1881, p. 105 ff.; Annali d. Inst., 1885, Tav. A. cf. Wissowa, Neue Jahrb. f. d. klass. Alter., 1, 1898, p. 168; Relig. u. Kult., p. 121).

[5] Zeitschrift f. deutsch. Altert., vol. 6 (1848), p. 128.

Schwegler furthermore regarded the myth as exactly analogous to the Vedic myth of Indra and Vala, and, though Italic, as belonging to the family of elementary mythological conceptions that pervaded all peoples of the Indo-Germanic stock.[1]

The belief in a purely Italic myth was further maintained by Preller. The name he regarded as a Greek mask for a myth which was essentially Italic[2] in origin but which was worked over into Greek form by the Campanian Greeks and thus carried, possibly, from Cumae to Rome in their intercourse with the Latins.[3] Hercules was identical with *Silvanus*, the god of increase. Like Hartung and Schwegler, he placed credence in the variant ascribed to Verrius Flaccus[4] that the real hero was Garanus, but he went beyond either in identifying Hercules with *Genius*. Now the word *Garanus* he explained as = *Kerus* = *Genius*, comparing the Oscan *Kerriivis* in the dedicatory inscription from Agnone.[5] Reifferscheid[6] accepted this etymology and endeavored to support the theory that Hercules = Genius by the interpretation of certain works of art. These were:

[1] Röm. Geschichte, vol. 1, pp. 364-371; cf. R. Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, pp. 2256, 2257.

[2] Cf. Marquardt, Röm. Staatsverwaltung, vol. 3, 2te Aufl., p. 377.

[3] Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 2. p. 280.

[4] Pseudo-Servius, in Aen., 8. 203; cf. de Origine Gentis Romanae, 6. Preller called this variant "eine keinewegs zu verachtende Tradition," Röm. Myth., vol. 2, p. 283.

[5] Röm. Myth., vol. 1, p. 80; vol. 2, p. 283, and Jordan's note 4; Hermes, vol. 3 (1869), p. 409; Mommsen, Annali d. Inst., vol. 20 (1848), p. 420; Unteritalische Dialekte, p. 133; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p. 228.

[6] Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), pp. 352-362.

(1) An Etruscan mirror[1] which he interpreted as Jupiter giving Juno to Hercules in marriage.[2] (2) A Praenestine cista representing Hercules, Jupiter (Diespiter), and Juno.[3] (3) An Etruscan lamp-base from Perusia, one of

[1] Annali d. Inst., vol. 19 (1847), Tav. T; Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2259; C. I. L. I, 56; Class. Rev., vol. 20 (1906), p. 374.

[2] Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), p. 355; followed by Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2260; cf. Cook, Class. Rev., vol. 20 (1906), p. 376. The entire representation is very crudely done. The *Corpus* characterizes it as *speculo pessimi operis originis incertae.* This mirror is the theory's strongest support. It is much more probable, however, that it merely represents the acknowledgment by Zeus of the reconciliation of Hercules (Herakles) and Juno (Hera). Hercules is being presented as son-in-law. The olive branch shows the reconciliation and the phallic tokens symbolize the new marital relation. Hercules is represented as an unbearded youth with an unmistakably Greek cast of countenance. Furthermore he does not wear the usual lion's skin but has a mantle thrown over his left arm, a characteristic of the Greek Herakles in the style of the third century in the apotheosis and marriage with Hebe. The appearance of Herakles before an enthroned Zeus is one of the marked characteristics of all the representations of the apotheosis; cf. Annali d. Inst., vol. 52 (1880), Tav. N; Berlin, Vasen., 3257, 3256; Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, pp. 2183, 2250, 2217. This interpretation is certainly the natural one, and instead of taking the mirror as something *sui generis* regards it as merely one of a class of representations, imitations of Greek mirrors, a class which Martha designates as the second Etruscan group: "tableaux relatifs à l'histoire des héros de l'épopée hellénique, d'Hercule, d'Thésée, d'Pélée," etc. In all, both theme and workmanship are Greek, and the giving of names is characteristic. Cf. Martha, L'Art Étrusque, pp. 544, 546; Walters, Art of the Greeks, p. 253.

[3] Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 6 (1861), Tav. 54; C. I. L. I, 1500; Reifferscheid, Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), p. 355; Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2261. The gods and heroes, reading from left to right, are Micos, Aciles, Victoria, Hercles, Diesptr, Juno, Mercurios, Iacor, Ajax, Vepitus. Reifferscheid,

whose sides, representing Venus, is in Perusia; the other two, representing Hercules and Juno, are in Munich.[1]

disregarding the presence of the other figures [cf. Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), p. 355], reads into the order of Hercules, Jupiter, Juno support for his theory. The interpretation is arbitrary. What is the meaning of the relation of the remaining figures to the three mentioned if this conception of Hercules and Juno was in the artist's mind? The interpretation of Garrucci is certainly more satisfactory: "Ei si prefisse, m'immagino, di rappresentare quel momento in che Giove fa conoscere per mezzo di Mercurio a Iafor (cf. note, C. I. L. I, 1500) il fato che l'attende, quando combatterà coi due Greci Achille ed Aiace, che stanno armandosi di qua e di là della scena." Annali d. Inst., vol. 33 (1861), p. 152. This cista, furthermore, is not to be interpreted apart from others. Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 6 (1861), Tav. 55, represents a cista in the Berlin Museum showing similar mythological treatment: the figures from left to right are Venus, Aucena, Casenter(a), Crisida, Aiax, Oinumama, Teses, Alixente(r), Ateleta, Alsir, Felena. Cf. C. I. L. I, 1501. Both are as early as the third century, at least. Still another Praenestine cista of Italian workmanship is represented in Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 9 (1871), Tav. 58, 59. Here the figures are Iuno, Iovos, Mercuris, Hercle, Apolo, Leiber, Victoria, Menerva, Mars, Diana, Fortuna. For the interpretation cf. Annali d. Inst., vol. 45 (1873), pp. 221-239. These cistae are reflections of the pictorial scenes on the later Greek vases; cf. Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2171; Walters, Art of the Greeks, p. 253; Egbert, Latin Inscriptions, p. 264. Just as in this group we have no right to read into the order of Juno, Iovos, Hercle any argument for a Hercules-Juno *dii conjugales* theory, so we have none for the cista of Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 6 (1861), Tav. 54. My contention is simply that the presence and order of these figures prove nothing so far as the theory of Reifferscheid and Peter is concerned. The Etruscan engraver had a weakness for the incongruous combination of mythological personages; cf. Walters, Art of the Greeks, p. 253.

[1] Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), p. 355 f.; Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2261; Müller-Wieseler, Denkmäler d. alt. Kunst, vol. 1, 2te Aufl. Taf. 59; Class. Rev., vol. 20 (1906),

(4) A gold ring in the Waterton collection represents Hercules in a lion's skin and Juno Sospita. The figures, placed head to head, form the band of the ring.[1] (5) Reif-

p. 375; Panofka, Annali d. Inst., vol. 2 (1830), p. 335. Peter, adding to Reifferscheid's interpretation, feels warranted in holding "dass kein Zweifel walten kann, dass auch hier echt italische Vorstellungen zu Grunde liegen . . . . Die Göttin der dritten Seite, Venus (im altertümlichen Stil, das Gewand fassend), zeigt deutlich an, was die Vereinigung von Hercules und Juno auf diesem Denkmale zu bedeuten habe." The Juno is the unmistakable Sospita type, whose oldest cult existed in Lanuvium and whose attributes were those of Hera Eileithyia (cf. Cic. de Nat. Deor., 1. 29, 82; Roscher, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 2. 1, p. 595; 1. 2, p. 2088 f.; Preller, Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 1, 276 f.; Overbeck, Kunst-Mythologie, vol. 2. 1, p. 160 f.). Hercules in the representation has the beardless face, the sharply defined nose and chin, the tightly fitting chiton and the lion's skin over it so characteristic of the Herakles types on the Attic red-figured vases of the sixth and the fifth centuries (Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, pp. 2147, 2153, 2163, 2167). The Ionic type is closely similar and is known to have influenced Etruscan art strongly, for Herakles in Etruscan art is almost always beardless; cf. the amphora of Ionic style showing a combat between Herakles and Juno Sospita, Bericht. d. Berl. Arch. Gesell., Nov. 1, 1887; Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2153; Walters, Art of Greeks, p. 248. The association of Herakles with feminine deities in Greek and Etruscan art is very common. It would seem temerity to maintain from an examination of a piece of art of this sort that the artist had in mind any sort of Kult-verbindung. The figures are merely the decorative, stereotyped deities of the Greek and Roman pantheon; cf. Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 3, PL. 43, edited by E. Braun, Annali d. Inst., vol. 14 (1842), pp. 62-67. Here one of the tripod bases represents Hercules and a hooded female, probably Juno Sospita. The other figures are likewise purely ornamental, namely two Sileni, a man, two women, a lion devouring a sheep, and a reclining infant.

[1] Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), Tav. H, 1; Brunn, Bull. d. Inst., 1858, pp. 49, 50; Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2261;

ferscheid and R. Peter furthermore adduce the handles and bases of certain Etruscan craters.[1] These craters represent the following: (a) Hercules in lion's skin and with club, and a woman crudely imitative of the Sospita type, each standing on the outstretched hand of a Satyr, Hercules on his right. The attitude of Hercules and Juno is one of open hostility.[2] (b) Three instances of a combat between Hercules and a female for some beast, (1) for a hind,[3] (2) for a boar,[4] (3) for a hydra.[5] But this group carries little conviction. The individual representations certainly illustrate acts in the dodekathlon as Reifferscheid himself admits: *quae ornamenta certamen de tripode inter Herculem et Apollinem imitari videntur.*[6] The figure in

Class. Rev., vol. 20 (1906), p. 375, fig. 3. The ring is doubtless a type of the engagement or marriage ring of the kind mentioned by Tertullian, Apol. 6 cf. Plin. N. H. 33. 3 (12). The fitness of these figures on a marriage ring is obvious from the attributes of Herakles and Hera Eileithyia in Greek mythology, and also from artistic considerations. For the Sospita type of Juno, carried over from the Greek Hera, is, as regards composition and adornment, the exact counterpart of the Herakles in the lion's skin, and the symmetrical adornment lends itself easily to the workmanship of a ring (Overbeck, Kunst-Myth., vol. 2, p. 161).

[1] *In quibus omnibus videmus Herculem cum muliere pugnare clavaeque qua deus minatur opponi a muliere eundem illum cultrum quo Iuno Sispes in anulo supra descripto armata est.* Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), p. 357.

[2] Micali, Monumenti Inediti, Tav. 21, 5; Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2262.

[3] Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 5, Tav. 52; Braunn, Annali d. Inst., vol. 25 (1853), pp. 124-127; Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2265.

[4] Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 5, Tav. 52; Mus. Greg., 1, Tav. 6, 3.

[5] Mus. Greg., 1. 61, 8.

[6] Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), p. 357, note 2; cf. Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2263.

the first[1] is doubtless a Juno Sospita whose choice is due not only to the considerations of artistic symmetry but also to the leading rôle which Hera played in the labors of Herakles in Greek mythology—his opponent throughout life, and the mover of all his tasks. In connection with these representations Reifferscheid is inclined to add Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 6, 7, Tav. 69, 2 b., where Eurystheus conceals himself in a dolium and is protected by a woman.[2] This is obviously alien to the subject. He furthermore interpreted Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 5, Tav. 25, the representation of a man offering violence to a woman, as illustrating Hercules and Juno. Minervini's[3] interpretation makes the figures Herakles and Auge. But the male figure has not a single one of the usual and unmistakable attributes of Herakles or Hercules, nor is the female Juno or Auge. Reifferscheid further[4] cites a bronze figure in the Florentine Museum[5] showing Juno Sospita. Her opponent is wanting but Reifferscheid does not doubt that it was Hercules. And to the natural query, 'why, if Hercules and Juno are *dii conjugales,* should they be represented at strife,' there is the rather naïve reply: "Sie findet ihre einfache Lösung, sobald man annimmt, dass auf diesen Bildwerken Iuno noch nicht die Gattin des Hercules ist, sondern noch Jungfrau, die erst überwunden dem Gotte sich ergiebt. . . . Dass die Jungfrau dem Manne widerstrebt und erst durch Gewalt von ihm bezwungen sein will, ist ein in den Mythen der alten Völker wiederholt hervortretender Zug."[6] All this may be true enough but

[1] Cf. Braunn, Annali d. Inst., vol. 25 (1853), p. 127.

[2] Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), p. 357, n. 2; cf. Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2263.

[3] Annali d. Inst., vol. 23 (1851), p. 40.

[4] Cf. Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2264.

[5] Gori, Mus. Etrus., vol. 1, Tav. 25.

[6] Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2264.

is of no great weight so far as it concerns the Hercules-Juno problem.

Finally, as proof of a ἱερὸς γάμος Reifferscheid cited a number of Etruscan tripods on which Hercules is represented in company with a woman.[1] These Reifferscheid and Peter hold as proof of the genius theory. I think that they are much rather attempts to express in art what is so constant a feature of the literature, namely Hercules's amours.[2] The association of Hercules with a female in both literature and art is so common that it lends no special proof to the scattered instances where his companion happens to be Juno. In Greek art Athena[3] is

[1] Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), p. 361; Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2266; Mus. Greg., 1, Tav. 56 h; Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 3 (1842), Tav. 43; Braunn, Annali d. Inst., vol 14 (1842), pp. 62-67; ibid. vol. 57 (1885), Tav. G. H, and p. 221.

[2] They belong to the Bacchic cycle of H. Aphrodite in Greek myth is the rest from his toil; cf. Arist. Herc. p. 62; Babelon et Blanchet, Cat. des Bronzes, 1286 = Gerhard, Etr. Spieg., vol. 2, p. 451; Ant. Bildw., p. 112; Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst., vol. 3 (1888), Pl. X, 13; Gaz. Arch., 1880, Pl. 23; Athen. 13. 4; Plut. Q. R. 35; Rom. 5; Macrob. 1. 10, 12; Aug. C. D. 6, 7; Dionys. 1. 43; Solin. 1. 15; Varro, L. L. 5. 53; Cass. Dio fr. 1. 1 = Tzetz. ad Lycophr. 1232; Plut. Fab. Max. 1; Paul. Diac. 87 (M); Sil. Ital. 2. 3; 6. 635; Lact. Div. Inst., 1. 20, 5; Justin. 43. 1, 9; Apollod. 2. 7, 8; Serv. in Aen., 8. 51; Virg. Aen. 7. 659; Jebb, Trach., on v. 460; Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2249 f.

[3] Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, pp. 2215, 2216, 2191, etc. Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, p. 220, note 3; vol. 2, p. 1209; Walters, History of Ancient Pottery, vol. 2, p. 38 ff. Athena is called Ἡρακλέους κόρη on an Attic amphora; cf. Helbig, Bull. d. Inscr., 1866, p. 181; Kretschmer, Griech. Vaseninschr., p. 198. Attempts have been made, unsuccessfully, to account for this union of H. and Athena on the ground of a mystic marriage; cf. Welcker, Griech. Götterlehre, vol. 2, p. 780 ff.; Annali d. Inst., vol. 26 (1854), pp. 45-48.

associated with him in countless representations. In Etruscan art his companion is often Minerva.[1] Both Athena and Hera are associated with Herakles in Greek myth from the earliest Argive legends. The translation of Athena into Minerva and of Hera into Juno is a natural one and rests upon Greek literary and artistic tradition,[2] and not upon a *dii conjugales* idea. I do not believe that in these representations the artist was conscious of any sort of union between Hercules and the feminine deity, and that there is a hidden meaning, can we but find it. It is unsafe to say more than that the *motif* of a man and woman as decorative elements was an especially favorite one with the Etruscans, and that these representations are merely decorative. Etruscan art, as is well known, was dominated and dictated by Greek art.[3]

R. Peter has expounded these works in greater detail than Reifferscheid but has made no addition to the list. His line of reasoning is identical with that of Reifferscheid and brings him to the conclusion: "dass der unter dem Namen Hercules verehrte Gott seinem Ursprunge nach altitalisch, nämlich der Genius Iovis oder Genius schlechthin ist, der in alten verschollenen Mythen und Kultusgebräuchen als der Gemahl der Iuno gefeiert wurde";[4] and later: "Nach dem Vorstehenden ist es zweifellos, dass der Mythus von Hercules und Cacus zunächst als röm-

[1] Gerhard, Etr. Spieg., p. 165; Martha, L'Art Étrusque, p. 324.

[2] Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, pp. 461, 462, 467, 468; Martha, op. cit., pp. 316, 320; Walters, Art of Greeks, p. 253.

[3] Martha, L'Art Étrusque, p. 117 ff.; Walters, Art of Greeks, p. 248 ff.

[4] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2267.

isches Eigentum zu bezeichnen ist."[1] This conclusion I believe to be founded upon evidence that is insufficient and unsatisfactory. It is insufficient when viewed in relation to the wide-spread influence of the Greek Herakles myth in literature and art, and it is unsatisfactory when interpreted in and by itself. For the collection is (1) of uncertain date, (2) of widely varied provenance, and (3) open to two or more interpretations. No single piece is valuable enough or convincing enough to be decisive, and the evidence instead of gathering momentum as it goes rather loses its initial velocity. The different objects are widely distributed and prove nothing for any locality, least of all for Rome. Most are of such mediocrity that it is doubtful if they can be rigidly held to prove anything save the fascination that the personality of the great Argive god exercised over Greece and Rome alike. If Hercules were really the *genius* of men, associated with Juno to form a pair of old Italic gods, *dii conjugales,* one would scarcely expect to find so essential an attribute of the god represented so sparingly and then in specimens so characterless. But while one may venture to disagree with Peter's exposition one can never be too grateful for his learned massing of the material, a debt which every student of the myth must freely acknowledge.

The belief in an Italic Hercules has thus been the dominant one. It was once accepted by Mommsen but later

[1] Ibid. p. 2275. This theory is accepted also by Aust, Religion der Römer, 1899 (Darstell. a. d. Gebiete d. Nichtchristl. Rel. Gesch., vol. 13), p. 146 ff.; cf. the view of A. B. Cook in Classical Review, vol. 20 (1906), pp. 365-378, 416-419, who argues from the same evidence that Herakles (Hercules) was the husband of a gynaecocratic Juno. Cf. Harrison, Class. Rev., vol. 7 (1893), p. 74 ff.; Tümpel, Philologus, vol. 51 (1892), p. 385 ff.; cf. the objections urged by Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, vol. 1, pp. 199-201.

rejected by him.[1] Hillen,[2] after setting forth the literary form of the myth, followed Schwegler in regarding Hercules as the equivalent of Sancus[3] but considered him likewise as the possessor of attributes belonging more properly to Silvanus[4] and to Mars.[5] Hillen furthermore followed Schwegler in the Italic theory, coming to the conclusion: *quum igitur 'Hercules' vocabulum aperte levi litterarum transmutatione ex Graeco* Ἡρακλῆς *ortum sit, numen hoc ab initio aliter nominatum fuit. Quo vero nomine fuerit appellatum, certo id quidem constitui iam non potest. Duo sane nobis nomina, quibus qui Cacum interemit, de quo eodem nobis nunc quaestio est, appellatus sit, afferuntur; "Recaranus" et "Garanus."*[6] Bréal[7] adopted Mommsen's earlier derivation of *Hercules*.[8] Her-

[1] Unterital. Dialekte, p. 262; History of Rome, vol. 1, p. 230.

[2] De Herculis Romani fabula et cultu, Monasterium, 1856.

[3] Op. cit., p. 31.

[4] Hercules is called the grandson of Silvanus, C. I. L. VI, 329; Buecheler, Anthol. Epigraph., 23; C. I. L. VI, 30738; Hillen, op. cit., p. 21.

[5] Op. cit., p. 37; Macrob. 3.12; Serv., in Aen., 8.275, 285.

[6] De Herculis Rom. fab. et cult., p. 39.

[7] Hercule et Cacus, Mélanges de Myth. et de Linguistique, Paris, 1877, pp. 1-161.

[8] Unterital. Dialekte, p. 262. On derivation cf. Preller, Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 2, p. 278, note 2, 279; Grassmann, Die italischen Götternamen, Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachf., vol. 16 (1867), pp. 103, 104; Ritschl, Opuscula, vol. 2, p. 492 n; Keller, Jahrb. f. Phil., vol. 87 (1863), p. 767; Stolz, Wiener Stud., vol. 8 (1886), p. 152; Weise, griech. Wörter im Latein, p. 315; Corssen, die Sprache d. Etrusker, vol. 1, p. 826; Kühner, Gram. d. lat. Sprache, vol. 1, 87; Corssen, Beiträge z. ital. Sprachkunde, p. 113; von Plante, Gram. d. osk-umbr. Dialekte, vol. 1, pp. 253, 254, n. 1; Stolz, Hist. Gram. d. lat. Sprache, vol. 1, pp. 196, 199; Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1.2, pp. 2254, 2255; Daremberg et Saglio, Dict., vol. 3.1, p. 124; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p. 220, n. 1.

cules, the god of the *herctum,* was thus Italic and in no way akin to Herakles. "Hercule ne peut donc pas être le dieu qu' on adorait à l' *ara maxima,* qui triomphait de Cacus suivant le cérémonial consacré, et que célébraient les chants des frères Saliens. Le héros grec a usurpé la place d' une ancienne divinité latine dont nous connaîtrons bientôt le nom."[1] But Bréal furthermore, like Schwegler, regarded the myth as ultimately Vedic, and developed the points of apparent similarity in considerable detail.[2]

As might be expected from the nature of his book, Fowler[3] emphasized the cult side, following Peter in part in matters of myth. In the time of Appius Claudius, the censor, the priestly functions of the *Potitii* were entrusted to public slaves, and the custom of the praetor's sacrifice with uncovered head and laurel wreath would thus indicate a reconstruction of the cult in the direction of Greek ritual.[4] While accepting, apparently, the *genius* theory of Reifferscheid and Peter, Fowler questions if the Hercules of the *ara maxima* may not conceal some form of Mars.[5] For the origin of the peculiar custom of offering tithes, either of two possibilities might be suggested. (1) The

[1] Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, p. 47; cf. "nous allons essayer de démontrer que ce dieu est Jupiter, adoré tantôt sous le nom de *Sancus*, tantôt avec le surnom de *Recaranus*," pp. 51, 152. The *herctum* theory is found also in Fiske, Myths and Myth-makers, Boston, 1891, p. 116, and in Granger, Worship of the Romans, London, 1895, p. 127.

[2] Bréal, op. cit., p. 79 ff.; cf. review of Fr. Spiegel, Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachf., vol. 13 (1864), pp. 386-392; Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2279 ff.; Oldenberg, Religion d. Veda, p. 144.

[3] Roman Festivals, pp. 193-197.

[4] Op. cit., p. 194.

[5] Cf. Varro, ap. Macrob., 3. 12, 5; Serv., in Aen., 8. 275; Hillen, de Herc. Rom. fab., p. 37; Preller, Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 2, p. 285.

offering of first fruits, which is very wide-spread,[1] may have developed gradually into the system of the fixed tithe as temple ritual grew more costly and burdensome.[2] The sacrifice on the twelfth of August was thus a real offering of the first fruits of the harvest. But "as the city grew, and agriculture became less prominent than military and mercantile pursuits, the practice passed into a form adapted to these—i. e. the *decumae* of military booty or mercantile gain."[3] (2) As a second possibility Fowler suggests that inasmuch as the myth is unique in Latin mythology, and "the Hercules of the myth has nothing in common with the genuine Italian Hercules, whom we may now accept as = *genius,* or the masculine principle";[4] the anomaly of myth and cult, perhaps ultimately of Semitic origin, may have been imported from Sicily to the Tiber side.[5]

The attempt to make an Italic divinity of Hercules has not failed for want of supporters; but strange as it may seem the belief that the Roman Hercules was purely Greek in both myth and cult has, until very recently, found scant recognition. Dürrbach[6] entered a general protest against Reifferscheid's interpretation of certain works of art but did not take up the theory in detail. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff devoted a few lines of his brilliant introduction[7] to

[1] Cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 2d ed., vol. 2, p. 459 ff.; Stengel, Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encycl., vol. 1, p. 2666 ff.

[2] Cf. Robertson Smith, Religion of Semites, 2d ed., p. 247. This argument applies to the Semites rather than to the Romans. If it were true for the Romans we should expect tithes to be given also to other divinities, which is not the case.

[3] Fowler, Rom. Fest., p. 196.

[4] Fowler, Rom. Fest., p. 196. [5] Op. cit., p. 197.

[6] Daremberg et Saglio, Dict., vol. 3. 1, pp. 124-128.

[7] Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 25 and note; cf. Pais, Ancient Italy, Chicago, 1908, p. 339.

a protest against the Italic Hercules, a protest that touches the heart of the matter: "Es haben sich natürlich vereinzelt italische sagen an den fremden heros geheftet, und die Italiker haben dem körper, den sie übernahmen, den odem ihrer eigenen seele eingeblasen: aber wie der name ist die gestalt des Hercules hellenischer import. Die versuche, eine urverwandte oder auch durch zufällige namensähnlichkeit identificirte italische gottheit in ihm zu sehen, sind zum glücke fast allgemein aufgegeben." But the sanest and by far the most satisfactory treatment that has yet been given the subject is that presented in Wissowa's brief pages.[1] Hercules, though purely Greek, was always worshipped inside the *pomerium*,[2] since the Romans received him, as they did the Dioskuroi, through the mediation of Latin neighbors.[3] The nationality of the god is shown by his name, and Wissowa believes that the prominence of the Oscan Campanian cult points to the way by which he entered Rome. The centre and ultimate source of this worship was to be found in Cumae, whose legends contained clear traces of the myths later current in Rome.[4] Tusculum,[5] Praeneste,[6] Lanuvium,[7] and especially Tibur[8] were influential cult centres, and in the case of Tibur, it is more probable that the worship passed from Tibur to Rome than from Rome to Tibur.[9] The sacrifice of the

[1] Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer, München, 1902, pp. 219-231; Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encycl., vol. 3, pp. 1165-1169, s. v. Cacus.

[2] Cf. Tac. Ann., 12. 24; Platner, Pomerium and Roma Quadrata, A. J. P., vol. 22 (1901), pp. 420-425; Carter, A. J. A., vol. 12 (1908), pp. 172-183.

[3] Relig. u. Kult., p. 219.

[4] Ibid. p. 220.

[5] C. I. L. X, 3808.

[6] C. I. L. XIV, 2890-2892.

[7] Tertull. ad Nat., 2. 7.

[8] C. I. L. XIV, 3541-3555; XIV, 367 ff.; cf. Mart. 1. 12, 1, and 4. 62, 1; Macrob. 3. 2; Liv. 1. 20; Cato, R. R. 141; Serv., in Aen., 8. 285.

[9] Relig. u. Kult., p. 220.

Potitii and *Pinarii* was originally a *sacrum gentilicium*[1] which became Graecized in ritual when it was transferred to the care of state slaves in the time of Appius Claudius, the censor.[2] Both families were probably of Tiburtine origin.

Before the reorganization of the worship at the *ara maxima* in the direction of Greek ritual took place, the purely Greek worship had found place in Rome along with the Tiburtine. For Hercules appears in the first lectisternium of 399 B. C.[3] and maintains his place in the repetition of the ceremony until the great lectisternium of 217 B. C.[4] in which he has no part. In 218 B. C. he had a lectisternium of his own and a *supplicatio* with Juventas in his temple,[5] and in 188 B. C. his statue was erected in accordance with a decree of the decemviri.[6] All this refers not to the Hercules of the *ara maxima*[7] but to the Greek new-comer. There were thus in Rome two groups of Hercules sanctuaries, that of the Tiburtine Hercules in the Circus Maximus, and that of the Greek Hercules in the Circus Flaminius,[8] the latter never acquiring any deep religious significance.

Peter's theory is discredited in general terms.[9] The most distinctive feature of the ritual, namely the offering of the *decumae,* is purely Greek, and has its origin in the commerce of merchants.[10] The myth of the encounter with Cacus is the elaboration of the Greek myth of Alkyoneus

[1] Cf. Niese, Grundriss d. römischen Geschichte, 3te Aufl., p. 36.
[2] Virg. Aen., 8. 276-285; Relig. u. Kult., p. 222.
[3] Liv. 5. 13, 6; Dionys. 12. 9.
[4] Liv. 22. 10, 9. [5] Liv. 21. 62, 9.
[6] Liv. 38. 35, 4; Relig. u. Kult., p. 223.
[7] Cf. Balbus, ap. Macrob., 3. 6, 16.
[8] Relig. u. Kult., p. 224.
[9] Ibid. p. 225, 227. [10] Ibid. p. 225.

and Geryon, and is modelled upon some lower Italic version, since a Campanian bronze[1] shows the punishment of a robber, first called Cacus in Rome, by Herakles. The aetiological features of the Virgilian version cannot greatly antedate Virgil. The accounts of Timaeus [2] and of Gn. Gellius [3] are older aetiological explanations of the *scalae Caci,* and Flaccus's variant of Garanus is a piece of Euhemeristic transformation.[4]

Until Wissowa all scholars concerned themselves with the attempt to interpret the meaning of the myth as it is presented by all the various accounts,[5] and no endeavor was made to separate and to compare these various accounts to find, if possible, the earliest form or forms of the myth at Rome. Wissowa indicated certain general lines of similarity. This method, which I have followed and furthered in detail, is, I believe, essential to the true interpretation of some of the many perplexing features of the myth. A resolution of the mythical complex into its elements and the evaluation of the various versions must precede studies in ritual and religion. To determine the sources and the relation of the various parts of the myth to one another and to determine, if possible, the earliest form and content of the literary form of the myth at Rome is the aim of the present study.

[1] Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 5 (1849-1853), Tav. 25; Annali d. Inst., vol. 23 (1851), p. 36 ff.; Relig. u. Kult., p. 230; Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1169; Robert, Hermes, vol. 19 (1884), p. 480.

[2] Diod. 4. 21.

[3] Solinus, 1. 8.

[4] Relig. u. Kult., p. 230.

[5] Cf. Wissowa, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1168.

CHAPTER II

RELATIONSHIP AND SOURCES OF THE VERSIONS

The myth of Hercules at Rome forms part of the Locrian Geryon cycle.[1] In it we clearly have a mythical complex or combination and blending of various mythical elements into more or less of a unity. These elements are discerned in the institution at Rome known as the *ara maxima*[2] and

[1] Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, pp. 459 and note, 460, 469; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, 2te Aufl., p. 24; considered Rhodian by P. Friedländer, Herakles, Berlin, 1907, p. 21 ff.

[2] The location of the Hercules sanctuaries, fundamental for the topography of the Forum Boarium, is of unusual difficulty. The *ara maxima*, forming the southwest corner of the Palatine pomerium, was probably near the entrance to the Circus Maximus immediately west of the northwest end of the Circus, near the present church of S. Maria in Cosmedin. The altar was standing in the fourth century A. D. (cf. C. I. L. VI, 312-319), but no trace of it now remains (Liv. 1. 7; Ovid, F. 1. 581, 582; Tac. Ann. 12. 24 and 15. 41; Serv., in Aen., 8. 269-271). The *aedes Herculis* was near the *ara maxima* and probably a short distance to the northwest of it (Liv. 10. 23; Solin. 1. 10; Plin. N. H. 35. 19). The exact location of the *aedes Herculis Pompeiani* (Vitruv. 3. 2, 5; Plin. N. H. 34. 57), described as *ad circum maximum*, cannot be determined; the structure may have been incorporated into S. Maria in Cosmedin; cf. Jordan. Topogr., vol. 1. 2, pp. 477 ff.; Gilbert, Topogr., vol. 1, pp. 75 ff.; de Rossi, Ara Massima, Monumenti d. Inst., 1854, pp. 28-38; Kluegmann, Arch. Zeit., vol. 35 (1877), p. 107 ff.; Huelsen, Röm. Mitt., vol. 7 (1892), p. 294; Richter, Topogr., 2te Aufl., pp. 32, 33, 132, 187, 188; Platner, Topography and Monuments, pp. 37, 377; Jordan-Huelsen, Topogr., vol. 1. 2 (1907), p. 144 ff.; the literature is cited in Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2901 ff.

its ritual.[1] In the attempt to account for the *ara maxima* and the worship of Hercules there in vogue Roman antiquarians, historians, and poets introduced into their works various myths which, though differing widely in detail, still evidence certain common traits. The common elements in the mythical complex are the combat between Hercules and Cacus, resulting from the theft of Hercules's cattle, the institution of an altar to commemorate the recovery, and the appointment of a priesthood of two ancient patrician families, the *Potitii* and the *Pinarii*, to take charge of the ritual forever. Evander is often associated with the myth, usually as the host of Hercules after the latter's arrival from Erytheia driving the oxen of Geryon. The account of Livy, the first Latin version of any length and definiteness, will serve as a fair example and a starting point (Livy, 1. 7, 3-15).

Before proceeding to compare this account with others it is essential to note some of its chief characteristics. The entire account is clearly aetiological. There is an ancient institution to be accounted for and Livy proceeds to draw the account in characteristic fashion.[2] The core of the myth, which is told with unusual fulness, is the endeavor to account for the method of worship in vogue at the *ara maxima*. This is shown clearly by both the beginning and end of the narrative; *sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euandro instituta erant, facit* (1. 7, 3). *"Iove nate, Hercules, salve" inquit; "te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit, tibique aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat." . . . . inde institutum mansit . . . . haec tum sacra Rom-*

[1] Cf. Fowler, Rom. Fest., p. 193 ff.; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p. 222 ff.; R. Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2901 ff.

[2] Cf. Liv. 43. 13.

ulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit (1. 7, 15). The combat of Hercules with Cacus is simply the introduction to the story. Cacus is not pictured as a monster of any sort as in the Virgilian version,[1] but simply as *pastor accola eius loci . . . . ferox viribus* who takes a violent fancy to the cattle. Evander, the king of the region, is the first to welcome the travel-worn hero and to institute the sacrifice in his honor. These sacrifices are entrusted for their perpetual performance to two ancient families of distinction, the *Potitii* and the *Pinarii*.

In its outlines Livy's narrative does not stand alone, as will be seen later. Its value as a factor in the development of the myth-complex depends in a great measure upon the relationship which it bears to its sources. The determination of the sources is hedged about with difficulties,[2] yet the lines can be drawn fairly close. It is to be noted that Livy's account is manifestly drawn from some optimate source. Throughout the chief portion of the myth the point of view is patrician. Cacus is merely *pastor accola,* Evander is a king, *venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum,* whose mother is a *veridica interpres deum,* the altar an institution *quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet, tuoque ritu colat,* the *Potitii* and *Pinarii, tum familiae maxime inclitae,* whereof the *Potitii* continued *donec tradito servis publicis solemni familiae ministerio genus omne Potitiorum interiit.*[3]

That the myth is not of his own making he indicates at the outset by *memorant* (1. 7, 4), corresponding to a similar *ferunt* (1. 5, 1) in the account of Evander and the Palatine. Now it is generally agreed that in Livy's first

[1] Aen. 8. 190 ff.

[2] Cf. Soltau, Livius' Geschichtswerk, Leipzig, 1897, p. 85; Schanz, Römisch. Litteraturgeschichte, 2te Aufl., vol. 2. 1, p. 260.

[3] Cf. Liv. 9. 29, 9.

pentade only four sources were employed, namely Piso, Antias, Macer, and Tubero, with a probability of the use of the Latin version of Fabius Pictor.[1] From among these, then, our choice must be determined. The strictly annalistic character of Piso's work[2] renders improbable the use of that source; and Fabius may be eliminated under the same characterization. For Livy's account is full. Again, the general character of Macer, his manifest espousal of the plebian cause, and repeated thrusts at patrician pretensions[3] render his ultimate authorship of this passage, marked as it is by patrician sentiment, extremely unlikely. Antias and Tubero remain and it is difficult to decide between them.

Livy's indebtedness to Antias in his first book is well known[4] and the passage might have come from him directly. But there are reasons which lead one to believe that it is Tubero rather than Antias whom Livy has here used as his source. The character of the passage is in keeping with what is known of Tubero, the friend of Cicero, and like Cicero a narrow optimate.[5] That Livy used Tubero is shown by 4. 23, 1-3.[6]

[1] Cf. Soltau, Livius' Geschichtswerk, pp. 8, 193; Schanz, Röm. Litt., 2te Aufl., vol. 2. 1, p. 260.

[2] Cf. Cic. Brut. 27, 106; de Orat., 2. 12, 53; Soltau, Livius' Geschichtswerk, pp. 193, 198; der Annalist Piso, Philologus, vol. 56 (1897), pp. 118-129; Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. clxxxxv.

[3] Cf. Soltau, Macer u. Tubero, Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed., vol. 155 (1897), pp. 409-432, esp. p. 417; cf. Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. cccxxxviii.

[4] Soltau, Livius' Geschichtswerk, p. 197; Macer u. Tubero, Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed., vol. 155 (1897), p. 410.

[5] Cic. pro Lig., 4, 10; Soltau, Macer u. Tubero, Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed., vol. 155 (1897), p. 416; Livius' Geschichtswerk, p. 108.

[6] The reading *atque Tubero* of the Weissenborn-Muller text,

Livy's use of the word *ferunt* in 1. 5, 1 introducing the story of Evander and the Lupercalia has already been referred to. This passage (1. 5, 1 ff.) is confessedly a variant from Antias. A new source is in use therefore. For fragment 1 of Antias,[1] the story of Acca Larentia, is the same as Livy 1. 4, 7; and Livy 1. 7, 2, which deals with the quarrel between Romulus and Remus, is the substance of Dionysius 1. 87, which is from Antias.[2] The passage beginning with the narrative of Evander and the Lupercalia (1. 5, 1) is introduced, then, as an addition to the regular course of Antias's narrative. That it is an addition is manifest from examination; and a comparison with fragment 3 of Tubero[3] shows conclusively[4] that it is an addition made from Tubero. Just how far Livy continued to use Tubero it is impossible to say, up to 1. 5, 5, at least. At any rate, Antias, as has been shown, is again his source beginning with the words *vulgatior fama* (1. 7, 2). And this source, moreover, continues to 1. 7, 3, where the myth of Hercules, introduced by *memorant,* indicates a change. And the change, in all probability, is made back to Tubero. Tubero's influence clearly ends with the

Lipsiae, 1906, accredited to G. F. Unger, p. xxxv, instead of *et Q. Tubero* of the earlier editions and *etq. Tubero* of the codices was suggested by Soltau, Hermes, vol. 29 (1894), p. 631. Livy does not use the praenomen in citations from the annalists, although he is careful to use it with historical characters.

[1] Gell. 7. 7, 1; Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. 237; Hist. Rom. Frag., p. 152.

[2] Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. 237 and n. 2; Soltau, Livius' Geschichtswerk, p. 198.

[3] Dionys. 1. 80; Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. 311; Hist. Rom. Frag., p. 200.

[4] Schwartz, Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encycl., vol. 5, p. 957, doubts on insufficient grounds the relationship of Dionys. 1. 80 and Livy 1. 5.

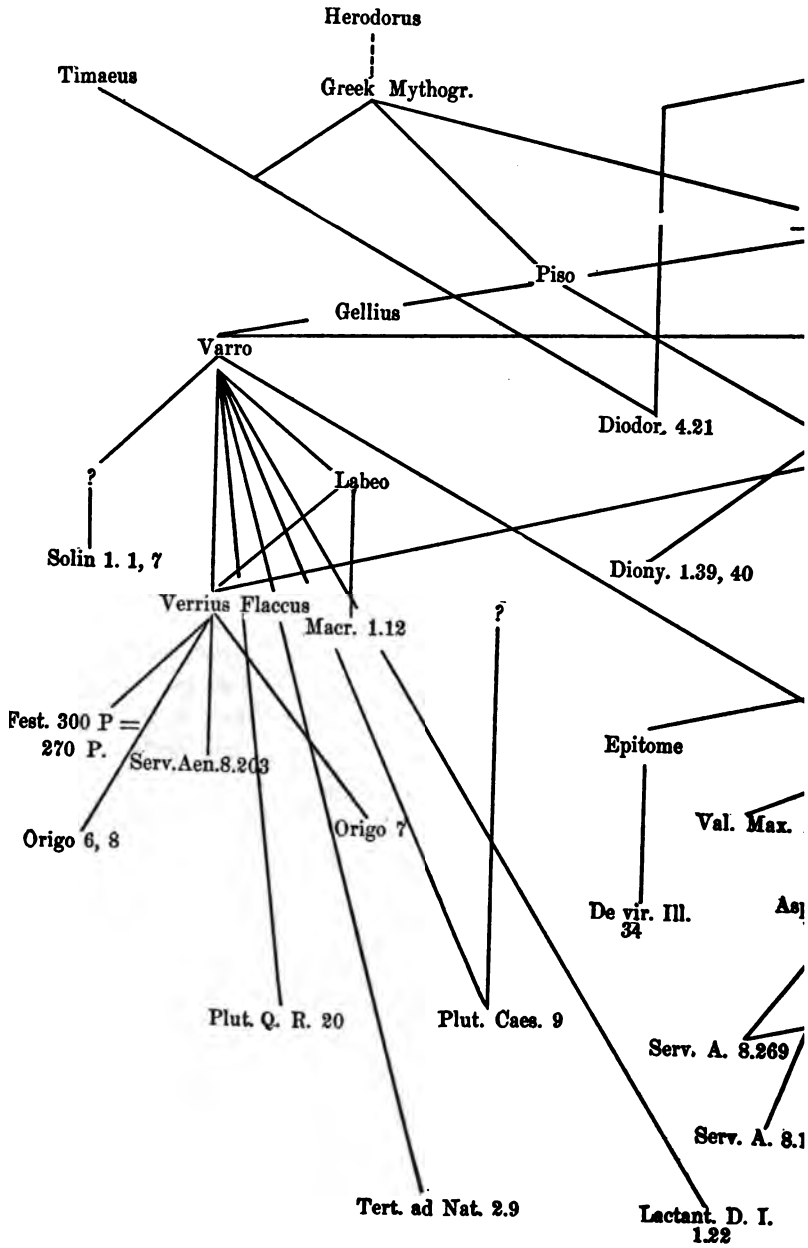
beginning of chapter 8, for its opening lines follow in thought directly after 1. 7, 3, inasmuch as the subject after the long digression is Romulus again as it had been above, although it is not expressed. Thus:

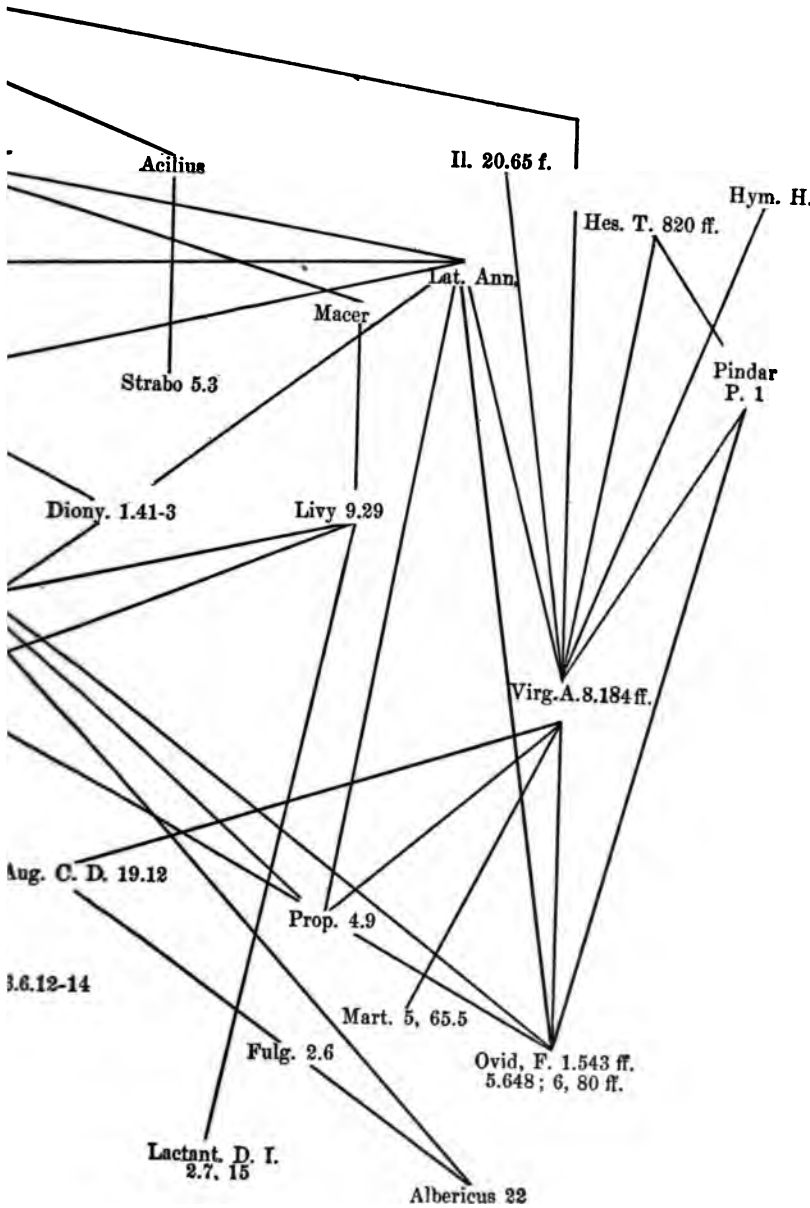
Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Euandro instituta erant, facit (1. 7, 3) . . . . (Myth of Hercules, variant from Tubero) . . . . rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit (1. 8, 1).

Finally, Dionysius, whose myth of Hercules bears a detailed resemblance to the account of Livy in thought and phraseology, as will be shown later, mentions Tubero directly as his source for a portion of Roman myth that in Livy precedes (1. 5, 1 ff.) but in Dionysius follows the myth of Hercules (Dionys. 1. 80). These reasons lend warrant to a belief in Tubero rather than Antias as the source of Livy's myth of Hercules. Antias, in characteristic fashion, would at least have stated the precise number of cattle stolen, as he did that of the Sabine maidens. Livy's account, then, is that of the later, not the earlier, annalists and is in all probability the version of Tubero.

Reference has been made to the perpetuity of the sacrifice and the death of the *Potitii*. This portion of the myth is again mentioned by Livy, 9. 29, 9-11.[1]

[1] It is to be noted that Livy 1. 7, 14 *donec Pinarium genus fuit* speaks as if the *Pinarii* as well as the *Potitii* had become extinct in his day. This cannot have been the case. It is true that the *Potitii* are never found in literature or inscriptions: the name may be wholly fictitious. But the *Pinarii* appear repeatedly. Cicero, de Orat., 2. 65 reports a proverb of M. Pinarius: *ut sementem feceris, ita metes;* cf. pro dom., 52, 134. Tac. Ann. 4. 34 mentions Pinarius Natta among the accusers of Cremutius Corda. Plut. Num., 21 traces the family to one of the sons of Numa: Τέσσαρας υἱοὺς ἀναγράφουσιν αὐτῷ


Herodorus
Timaeus
Greek Mythogr.
Piso
Gellius
Varro
Diodor. 4.21
?
Labeo
Solin 1. 1, 7
Diony. 1.39, 40
Verrius Flaccus
Macr. 1.12
?
Fest. 300 P = 270 P.
Serv.Aen.8.203
Epitome
Origo 6, 8
Origo 7
Val. Max.
De vir. Ill. 34
Plut. Q. R. 20
Plut. Caes. 9
Serv. A. 8.269
Serv. A. 8.1
Tert. ad Nat. 2.9
Lactant. D. I. 1.22


Acilius
Il. 20.65 f.
Hym. H.
Hes. T. 820 ff.
Lat. Ann.
Macer
Strabo 5.3
Pindar
P. 1
Diony. 1.41-3
Livy 9.29
Virg. A. 8.184 ff.
ug. C. D. 19.12
Prop. 4.9
.6.12-14
Mart. 5, 65.5
Fulg. 2.6
Ovid, F. 1.543 ff.
5.648; 6, 80 ff.
Lactant. D. I.
2.7. 15
Albericus 22

Soltau[1] assigns the section 9. 29-30 to Antias, but elsewhere[2] suggests that 9. 29, 6 ff., may come from Macer. Macer, rather than Antias, I think, is probably the source, although his influence does not begin with 9. 29, 6. For a closer examination of the two chapters will show that 9. 29, 9-11, the portion under consideration, is in reality an insertion from a new source different from the rest in spirit and content, whose omission would in no wise mar or alter the sequence of the narrative, since 9. 30 follows in thought immediately upon 9. 29, 8. Its difference is unmistakable. In 9. 29, 6, 7, 8, the sections[3] immediately preceding the passage in question, 9-11, Appius Claudius is given high praise for his public services, whereas in the portion following them there is a thrust at both him and the noble families of the *Potitii.* Again, the words *et censura clara eo anno App. Claudii et C. Plautii fuit,* in section 6, render the opening words of section 9, *eodem Appio auctore,* formal and redundant.

The fact of the insertion of the passage from a new source being thus almost certain, it remains to find the source. The choice must lie between Piso, Macer, Tubero, the Latin version of Fabius, and Quadrigarius. Piso and Tubero themselves belonged to the optimates, as did Fabius and Quadrigarius. Upon these the passage in question re-

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Πόμπωνα, Πῖνον, Κάλπον, Μάμερκον . . . εἶναι γὰρ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Πόμπωνος τοὺς Πομπονίους, ἀπὸ δὲ Πίνου τοὺς Πιναρίους. Cf. Serv., in Aen., 8. 269: *unde et Pinarii dicti sunt* ἀπὸ τῆς πείνας *id est a fame;* cf. Pseudo-Serv., in Aen., 8. 270; Macrob. 3. 6, 12; Liv. 9. 34; 2. 56; 24. 37-39; 4. 25; 40. 18, 25; Plut. Q. R. 60; Fest. (Ponor), p. 300; Solin. 1. 10; Myth. Vat., 1. 69; 2. 153; 3. 13,7; Mommsen, Römische Forschungen, vol. 1, p. 116; Rohden-Dessau, Prosopographia Imp. Rom., vol. 3, p. 39 ff.

[1] Livius, Geschichtswerk, p. 208.

[2] Op. cit., p. 134.

[3] From Antias, cf. Soltau, op. cit., p. 208.

flects no credit. Macer, therefore, whose anti-patrician thrusts have already been referred to,[1] is probably the source. Macer is mentioned by name in 9. 46, 3, and the notice of Appius the censor in 9. 42, 3-5, found *in quibusdam annalibus* may likewise be due to the same source. The passage would run thus:

Et censura clara eo anno App. Claudii et C. Plautii fuit, memoriae tamen felicioris ad posteros nomen Appi, quod viam munivit et aquam in urbem duxit, eaque unus perfecit, quia ob infamen atque invidiosam senatus lectionem verecundia victus collega magistratu se abdicaverat: Appius iam inde antiquitus insitam pertinaciam familiae gerendo solus censuram obtinuit (9. 29, 6-8) . . . . (Myth of Appius and death of Potitii, variant from Macer) . . . . Itaque consules, qui eum annum secuti sunt, C. Iunius Bubulcus tertium et Q. Aemilius Barbula iterum (30, 1).

The passage in Livy 9. 29, 9-11, reappears in Valerius Maximus, *de Neglecta Religione,* 1. 17, with almost verbatim imitation. The passage follows:

Hercules quoque detractae religionis suae et gravem et manifestam poenam exegisse traditur. Nam cum Potitii sacrorum eius ritum, quem pro dono genti eorum ab ipso adsignatum velut hereditarium optinuerant, auctore Appio censore ad humile servorum ministerium transtulissent, omnes, qui erant numero super triginta, puberes intra annum extincti sunt, nomenque Potitium in duodecim familias divisum prope interiit, Appius vero luminibus captus est.

Lactantius also makes direct use of Livy 9. 29. The passage reads:

Appius Claudius censor cum ad servos publicos sacra Herculis transtulisset, luminibus orbatus est et Potitiorum gens, quae prodidit, intra unius anni tempus extincta est (Div. Inst., 2. 7, 15).

Another imitator of Livy, through the Epitome, doubtless,

[1] Soltau, Neue Jahrb. f. Phil., vol. 155 (1897), p. 417.

as the style would indicate, is the Auctor de Viris Illustribus, 34:

Duae familiae ad Herculis sacra sunt destinatae, Potitiorum et Pinariorum. Potitios Herculis sacerdotes pretio corrupit, ut sacra Herculea servos publicos edocerent; unde caecatus est; gens Potitiorum funditus periit.

Of the same class as Livy is also the Pseudo-Servius, *Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneidos,* 8. 269 = Mythographi Vaticani, 1. 69; 2. 153; 3. 13, 1:

'Auctor' vero 'Potitius' quare? num quod sine familia Potitiorum sacra ista non fiebant, donec illos Appius Claudius corrupit pecunia, ut servos publicos hoc sacrum docerent, propter quod dicitur et ipse mox caecus factus et Potitiorum familia intra breve tempus extincta?

But it is not probable that this passage in the Pseudo-Servius, and in Servius 8. 179, was drawn from the Epitome of Livy, although the dependence of Servius upon the Epitome has been shown by Sanders[1] and Drescher.[2] For the passage is identical in substance with Macrobius 3. 6, 12-14, where Asper is cited as the source. *Quidam enim aram Maximam, cum vicino conflagraret incendio, liberatam a Pinariis ferunt et ideo sacri custodem domum Pinariam dixisse Vergilium. Asper* κατὰ διαστολήν *inquit Potitiorum, qui ab Appio Claudio praemio corrupti sacra servis publicis prodiderunt.* If, as Thilo believes, Macrobius did not draw from Servius,[3] it follows that both Macrobius and Servius used the same source,[4] for neither Servius nor the Pseudo-Servius can here have quoted from

[1] Univ. Mich. Stud., vol. 1, pp. 188, 195, 198, 244.

[2] Beiträge zur Liviusepitome, Erlangen, 1900, §. 61.

[3] Thilo et Hagen, Servii Gram. Com., vol. 1, pp. xxiii, lxvi.

[4] The citation of Asper by Macrobius shows that this immediate source cannot have been Suetonius directly; cf. Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 3, 2te Aufl., p. 172.

Macrobius. Asper is cited twice[1] by Servius upon grammatical points but nowhere by the Pseudo-Servius. And it is more than probable that for these two citations Servius did not independently consult Asper but quoted him from the citation of some other commentator,[2] doubtless Donatus, his chief source.[3] The Pseudo-Servius, besides using Donatus, must have referred to some encyclopedic work containing a number of variant views concerning Roman myth and ritual. These variants are almost always introduced by the indefinite *alii* or *quidam dicunt*,[4] but where an authority is cited it is Varro almost exclusively.[5] This encyclopedic work was doubtless that of Suetonius, whose writings formed the great treasure house for Servius and other antiquarians.[6] The great number of references to Varro show conclusively Suetonius's indebtedness; and the remarkably close resemblance to Livy proves that Varro must have drawn from the same source as Livy, namely the later annalists.

Another version closely similar to Livy 9. 29, is given by Festus. In Livy the *Potitii* comprised twelve families

[1] Serv., in Aen., 8. 383; 11. 801.

[2] Cf. Servius's method of citation in Aen., 6. 177; 7. 543; 8. 406; G. 2. 324, etc.

[3] Cf. Serv. *praef.* in Buc.; Thilo, Servii Gram. Com., vol. 1, p. lxxv f.; Keil, Gram. Lat., vol. 4, p. liii f.; P. Wessner's Aemilius Asper: Ein Beitrag zur römischen Literaturgeschichte: Beilage zum Jahresbericht der Latein. Hauptschule in den Franck. Stiftungen zu Halle a. S., 1905, has been inaccessible to me; cf. Berl. Phil. Woch., vol. 27 (1907), pp. 1424-1427; Wessner, Donatus, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 5, p. 1546 f.

[4] Cf. Pseudo-Serv., in Aen., 8. 1, 9, 40, 43, 51, 63, 65, 103, 130, 138, 183, 189, etc.

[5] Cf. 8. 230, 275, 276, 285, 330, 363, 526, 564, 600, 698, 710.

[6] Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 3, 2te Aufl., p. 65 f.; Thilo, Servii Gram. Com., vol. 1, p. lxxvii.

of thirty youths who died within a year. In Festus there are still twelve families but they die within thirty days, while nothing is said about the number of youths. An interesting perversion of numbers thus occurs. It is not probable, however, that it is a case of simple confusion. It is more likely that Festus's notice is due to another source. Festus, as is well agreed,[1] abridged the work of Verrius Flaccus who besides using the annalists is indebted to Varro as well.[2] The fact that the twelve families die within thirty days and that the amount of the bribe is definitely put at *quinquaginta millia aeris gravis,* a detail noted only here and in the probable reconstruction of another identical passage in Festus, M. p. 217 = Ponor, p. 270,[3] may point to Antias, the arithmophile, as the ultimate source for the version found in Festus. Almost identical with it to a point of verbal similarity is the notice in the *Origo Gentis Romanae:*

Potitium et Pinarium Hercules, cum ad aram, quae hodieque maxima appellatur, decimam boum, quos a Geryone abductos abigebat Argos in patriam, profanasset, genus sacrifici edocuit. quae familia et posteri eius non defuerunt decumantibus usque ad Appium Claudium Isque mos (the tithing mentioned and the presence of the Potitii at the feast) permansit usque Appium Claudium Censorem . . . . verum postea Appius Claudius accepta pecunia Potitios illexit, ut administrationem sacrorum Herculis servos publicos edocerent . . . . Quo facto

[1] Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 2. 1, 2te Aufl., p. 321.

[2] Cf. the order of citation, Origo Gent. Rom. *init.*, p. 207. below; Sanders, Annals of Varro, A. J. P., vol. 23 (1902), pp. 28-45; Univ. Mich. Stud., vol. 1, p. 15.

[3] Potitii cum ad *Hercule ritum *sacrificandi accepissent, eum* millibus aeris gra*vis quinquaginta edocuisse dicuntur* servos publicos *P. R. *quo facto Potitii intra diem* xxx, cum eius famili*ae xii fuissent, omnes interierunt.* The italicised words form the reconstruction of the broken passage.

Censorem, qui quinquaginta millia aeris gravis his dedit, ut servos publicos edocerent ritum sacrificandi: quo facto Potiti, cum essent ex familia numero duodecim, omnes intererant intra diem xxx. Pinarius quod non adfuit sacrificio, postea cautum est, ne quis Pinariorum ex eo sacrificio vesceretur.

Festus M., p. 237 (Ponor, p. 300)=M., p. 217 (Ponor, p. 270).

aiunt intra dies triginta omnem familiam Potitiorum, quae prior in sacris habebatur, extinctam . . . . ut Potitiis sacra facientibus, vescentibusque de eo bove, quem immolaverant, postquam inde nihil reliquissent, Pinarii deinde admitterentur.

Origo Gent. Rom., 8.

Other and more decided changes were also introduced by Verrius Flaccus. At first sight they seem so radical that it has been supposed by Reifferscheid,[1] followed by R. Peter,[2] that an old, original form of the myth is related.[3] In the Pseudo-Servius *in Aen.*, 8. 203, there occurs the peculiar statement that Verrius Flaccus, in opposition to common agreement, said that the victor over Cacus was a shepherd of extraordinary strength whose name was Garanus:

Sane de Caco interempto ab Hercule tam Graeci quam Romani consentiunt, solus Verrius Flaccus dicit Garanum fuisse pastorem magnarum virium, qui Cacum adflixit, omnes autem magnarum virium apud veteres Hercules dictos. (Pseudo-Servius, *in Aen.*, 8. 203.)

Now it is precisely this form of the myth that appears in the work known as the *Origo Gentis Romanae,* attributed to Aurelius Victor.[4] In the *Origo,* to be sure, the name is

[1] Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), pp. 352-362.

[2] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2273 ff.

[3] Cf. above, p. 178 ff.

[4] For the complete discussion of the much disputed problem of the date and authorship of the Origo cf. the literature cited by Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 4. 1, 2te Aufl., pp. 61-63.

Recaranus. But this can be accounted for. In the passage in the Pseudo-Servius the name may be written *Caranus*.[1] The similarity in sound is sufficient warrant for the slight difference in spelling, and in any case the interchange of *C* and *G* is common enough to occasion no surprise.[2] The longer form *Recaranus* is closely parallel to the older Alban name *Aremulus, Remulus, Remus*.[3] There can be no question regarding the identity of *Garanus, Caranus, Recaranus*. The *Garanum . . . . pastor magnarum virium* of Verrius Flaccus according to the Pseudo-Servius *in Aen.*, 8. 203, reappears as *Recaranus quidam . . . . magnarum virium pastor* in the *Origo* 6.

The passage bears further marks of the antiquarian's refinement. Evander is *excellentissimae iustitiae vir*. Cācus[4] has become κακός and therefore, naturally, *Euandri servus*, the Goodman's thrall, *nequitiae versutus, et praeter cetera furacissimus*. This ethical philology is of a piece with Servius *in Aen.*, 8. 190: *Veritas tamen secundum philologos et historicos hoc habet, hunc fuisse Euandri nequissimum servum ac furem*—the language is the same as in the *Origo—novimus autem malum a Graecis* κακόν *dici: quem ita illo tempore Arcades appellabant. Postea translato accentu Cacus dictus est, ut* Ἑλένη *Helena*.[5] Carmenta is mentioned, but in a different connection from that

[1] Cf. Jordan, Hermes, vol. 3 (1869), p. 409.

[2] Festus (Ponor), p. 242; *Orcum quem dicimus, ait Verrius ab antiquis dictum Uragum, quod et u litterae sonum per o efferebant; per c litterae formam nihilominus g usurpabant;* Pauli Exc. *C enim pro G frequenter ponebant antiqui;* Plut. Q. R., 54.

[3] Cf. Origo 18. 2; Ovid, M. 14. 616; F. 4. 49; Liv. 1. 3; Hier. Chron., a Abr., 1142; Oros. Hist., 1. 20, 5.

[4] Virg. Aen., 8. 194.

[5] Cf. Myth. Vat., 1. 66: *secundum veritatem fuit Euandri servus pessimus et fur;* 2. 153.

in Livy 1. 7, 8. The passage bears little detailed resemblance to Livy. It reads:

Eo regnante, forte Recaranus quidam, Graecae originis, ingentis corporis et magnarum virium pastor, qui erat forma et virtute ceteris antecellens, Hercules appellatus, eodem venit. Cumque armenta eius circa flumen Albulam pascerentur, Cacus, Euandri servus, nequitiae versutus et praeter cetera furacissimus, Recarani hospitis boves surripuit; ac ne quod esset indicium, aversas in speluncam attraxit. Cumque Recaranus, vicinis regionibus peragratis, scrutatisque omnibus eiusmodi latebris, desperasset inventurum, utcumque aequo animo dispendium ferens, excedere his finibus constituerat. At vero Euander, excellentissimae iustitiae vir, postquam rem, uti acta erat, comperit, servum noxae dedit, bovesque restitui fecit. Tum Recaranus sub Aventino Inventori Patri aram dedicavit, appellavitque Maximam[1] et apud eam decimam sui pecoris profanavit. Cumque ante moris esset, uti homines decimam fructuum regibus suis praestarent, aequius sibi ait videri, deos potius illo honore impartiendos esse, quam reges; inde videlicet tractum, ut Herculi decimam profanari mos esset, secundum quod Plautus: 'in partem,' inquit, 'Herculaneam,' id est, decimam. Consecrata igitur ara maxima, profanataque apud eam decima, Recaranus, eo quod Carmentis invitata ad id sacrum non adfuisset, sanxit, ne cui feminae fas esset vesci ex eo, quod eidem arae sacratum esset: atque ab ea re divina feminae in totum remotae. (Origo, 6.)

The use of Verrius Flaccus by the author is certain both from the detailed verbal resemblance[2] and the introduction of *Recaranus* as the chief character (= *Garanus* of Verrius Flaccus *apud* the Pseudo-Servius *in Aen.*, 8. 203), a variant found only here. That use was made of Verrius Flaccus

[1] The author takes it for granted that the *ara Inventori Patri* was identical with the *ara maxima;* cf. de Rossi Monumenti d. Inst., 1854, p. 38; Platner, Top. and Mon., pp. 377, 395; Richter, Topogr., 2te Aufl., pp. 32, 33, 132, 187; above, p. 193, note 2.

[2] Cf. p. 203 f.

is furthermore expressly stated in the opening of the work:

A Iano et Saturno conditoribus, per succedentes sibimet reges, usque ad consulatum decimum Constantii, digesta ex auctoribus Verrio Flacco, Antiate (ut quidem idem Verrius maluit dicere, quam Antia), tum ex annalibus pontificum, dein Cnaeo Egnatio Veratio, Fabio Pictore, Licinio Macro, Varrone, Caesare, Tuberone, atque ex omni priscorum historia, proinde ut quisque neotericorum asseveravit, hoc est, et Livius, et Victor Afer.

The mention of Verrius Flaccus first in this exceedingly uncritical order of citation is significant. The rest may have been used, if at all, as the author found them in Verrius Flaccus. The character of the work precludes the idea of original investigation extending to the older annalists.[1] But the author with characteristic show of research cites as his authority Cassius.[2] Just what Cassius is meant it is impossible to say. One naturally thinks of the annalist L. Cassius Hemina.[3] Peter,[4] however, does not include the passage under the fragments of Hemina. At any rate, the fact that *Cassius lib.* 1 is cited by the *Origo* as its source is absolutely no proof that the author consulted it, while there is conclusive evidence of his use of Verrius Flaccus.

But there is also a second version of the myth in the *Origo* 7, 8, professedly found *in libris pontificalium* which approximates closely the version of Livy 1. 7, 3-15. There are slight variations, however, which render it improbable

[1] Cf. Jordan, Ueber das Buch origo gentis romanae, Hermes, vol. 3 (1869), pp. 389-425; Mommsen, Hermes, vol. 12 (1877), pp. 401-408; Baehrens, N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed., vol. 135 (1887), pp. 769-781; Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 4. 1, 2te Aufl., p. 61.

[2] *Haec Cassius lib.* 1. 7.

[3] Accepted by Hillen, de Herc. rom. fab., p. 39.

[4] Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, pp. 95-108; Hist. Rom. Frag., pp. 68-74.

that Livy was the source. Hercules is called the son of Jupiter and Alcmene; a cause for his driving the oxen of Geryon is found in his desire to introduce this particular breed of cattle into Greece. Cacus, instead of a shepherd, is a robber and steals eight cattle[1] while in Livy he took all the finest.[2] A reason is given for the name of the *Pinarii,* ἀπὸ τοῦ πεινᾶν.[3] Women are excluded from participation in the sacrifice, and the *Potitii* die *intra dies triginta.* The account reads:

At vero in libris pontificalium traditur Hercules, Iove atque Alcmene genitus, superato Geryone, agens nobile armentum, cupidus eius generis boves in Graecia instituendi, forte in ea loca venisse, et ubertate pabuli delectatus, ut ex longo itinere homines sui et pecora reficerentur, aliquamdiu sedem ibi constituisse. Quae cum in valle, ubi nunc est Circus Maximus, pascerentur, neglecta custodia, quod nemo credebatur ausurus violare Herculis praedam, latronem quendam regionis eiusdem, magnitudine corporis et virtute ceteris praevalentem, octo boves in speluncam, quo minus furtum vestigiis colligi posset, caudis abstraxisse. Cumque inde Hercules proficiscens, reliquum armentum casu praeter eandem speluncam ageret, forte quadam inclusas boves transeuntibus admugisse, atque ita furtum detectum: interfectoque Caco, Euandrum, re comperta, hospiti obviam ivisse, gratantem, quod tanto malo fines suos liberasset; compertoque, quibus parentibus ortus esset Hercules, rem ita, uti erat gesta, ad Faunum pertulisse. Tum eum quoque amicitiam Herculis cupidissime appetisse. Quam opinionem sequi metuit noster Maro.

Cum ergo Recaranus, sive Hercules, Patri Inventori aram maximam consecrasset, duos ex Italia quos eadem sacra certo ritu administranda edoceret, ascivit Potitium et Pinarium. Sed eorum Potitio, quia prior venerat, ad comedenda exta admisso, Pinarius eo quod tardius venisset posterique eius summoti. Unde hodieque servatur nemini Potitio Pinariae gentis in eis sacris vesci licet. Eosque alio vocabulo prius appellatos nonnulli volunt, post vero Pinarios dictos ἀπὸ τοῦ πεινᾶν, quod

[1] So also in Virg. Aen., 8. 207 f.

[2] Liv. 1. 7, 5.

[3] Cf. Serv., in Aen., 8. 269.

videlicet ieiuni ac per hoc esurientes ab eiusmodi sacrificiis discedant. Isque mos permansit usque Appium Claudium Censorem ut Potitiis sacra facientibus vescentibusque de eo bove quem immolaverant postquam inde nihil reliquissent, Pinarii deinde admitterentur. Verum postea Appius Claudius accepta pecunia Potitios illexit ut administrationem sacrorum Herculis servos publicos edocerent, nec non etiam mulieres admitterent. Quo facto aiunt intra dies triginta omnem familiam Potitiorum, quae prior in sacris habebatur, extinctam: atque ita sacra penes Pinarios resedisse, eosque tam religione quam etiam pietate edoctos mysteria eiusmodi fideliter custodisse. (Origo, 7. 8.)

The portion from *isque mos* to the end of 8 has already been shown to have been taken from Verrius Flaccus.[1] An examination of the myth in the *Origo* will show that chapter 8 is not a portion of, or in sequence with, chapter 7 as we should expect it to be, but of chapter 6. At the very first of 8 is the form Recaranus again, whereas throughout all of 7 he is called Hercules simply. Again, the end of 6 was concerned with the consecration of the *ara maxima,* a subject taken up immediately in 8 but not mentioned in 7. There is also the same tendency to philological explanation in 8 that appears in the Pseudo-Servius *in Aen.,* 8. 203, and *Origo* 6. It is certain, therefore, that the version of Verrius Flaccus followed in 6 is again taken up in 8.

If this is true, what of *Origo* 7? Chapter 8 being a continuation of chapter 6, which belongs to Verrius Flaccus, is it probable that a new source was consulted by the author of the *Origo* for chapter 7 which presents similarities to the account of Livy? To this we may say that it is quite unlikely that the author consulted for his narrative any account *in libris pontificalium.* The citation of the pontifical books is of no more weight than the men-

[1] Cf. above, p. 203 f.

tion of Cassius in the version of 6. It is unlikely, too, that the myth as given by the *Origo* appeared in the *annales maximi*.[1] The truth doubtless is that the form of the myth in 7 was likewise taken from Verrius Flaccus, who may have indicated some ulterior source. This implies then that Verrius Flaccus must have presented two accounts of the myth, one of Recaranus or Garanus 6, 8, and the other of Hercules 7, drawn by him in turn from different sources. This view is most probable. On the basis of this supposition, furthermore, the general lines of similarity as well as the minor variations between *Origo* 7 and Livy 1. 7, may be accounted for. For the account of *Origo* 7 is clearly of the same class with that of Livy 1. 7, and in this light the mention *in libris pontificalium* is significant. This similarity can then be explained by the fact that both Livy's account in 1. 7 and Verrius Flaccus's as given in *Origo* 7 were derived from the same source or sources, namely from the later annalists.[2] An attempt will be made later to show the origin of Flaccus's variant in 6 and 8.

Of the same class and source as Livy 1. 7 is the account of Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1. 39, 40.[3] Dionysius's narrative relates in full the theft, the combat with Cacus, the erection of an altar to Zeus Heuresios, and the ordination of the *Potitii* and *Pinarii*. The parallelisms to Livy's story are so many and so striking in both order and content that an inference as to the use of the same source is certain, for it is not reasonable to suppose that Livy drew

[1] Cf. Soltau, die Entstehung der annales max., Philologus, vol. 55 (1896), pp. 257-276; Cichorius, Annales, in Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 1, pp. 2248-2256.

[2] Cf. p. 198.

[3] Cf. Tzet. Hist., 5. 21 = Cass. Dio, fr. 4. 1a, Boissevain, vol. 1, p. 8. Δίων καὶ Διονύσιος γράφουσι τὰ τοῦ Κάκου.

his narrative from Dionysius, or Dionysius from Livy.[1] The more pertinent parallelisms follow:

DIONYSIUS	LIVY
εὑρὼν δὲ πόαν ἐν αὐτῷ βουκολίδα πολλὴν καὶ καλήν, τὰς μὲν βοῦς ἀνῆκεν εἰς νομήν, αὐτὸς δὲ βαρυνόμενος ὑπὸ κόπου κατακλιθεὶς ἐδωκεν αὐτὸν ὕπνῳ. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ λῃστής τις ἐπιχώριος ὄνομα Κάκος περιτυγχάνει ταῖς βουσὶν ἀφυλάκτοις νεμομέναις καὶ αὐτῶν ἐρωτα ἴσχει. ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα κοιμώμενον αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν, ἁπάσας μὲν οὐκ ἂν ᾤετο δύνασθαι λαθεῖν ἀπελάσας, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον (ὂν) τὸ πράγμα κατεμάνθανεν. ὀλίγας δέ τινας ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, ἐν ᾧ πλησίον ὄντι ἐτύγχανε τὴν δίαιταν ποιούμενος, ἀποκρύπτεται ἐμπαλιν τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς ζῴοις πορείας ἐπισπώμενος ἑκάστην κατ' οὐράν. τοῦτο δὲ αὐτῷ τῶν ἐλέγχων ἀφανισμὸν ἐδύνατο παρασχεῖν ἐναντίας φανησομένης τοῖς ἴχνεσι τῆς ὁδοῦ. ἀναστὰς δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον ὁ Ἡρακλῆς καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος τῶν βοῶν, ὡς ἐμαθέ τινας ἐκλειποῦσας, τέως μὲν ἠπόρει ποῦ κεχωρήκασι καὶ ὡς πεπλανημένας ἀπὸ τῆς νομῆς ἐμάστευεν ἀνὰ τὸν χῶρον.... ἀμηχανῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὅ τι χρήσεται τῷ πράγματι εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται προσελάσαι τῷ σπηλαίῳ τὰς ἄλλας βοῦς. ὡς δὲ ἄρα τῆς συννόμου φωνῆς τε καὶ	prae se armentum agens nando traiecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse. ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola eius loci nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam praedam vellet . . . . quia, si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset, ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine, caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi ex loco in-

[1] Cf. Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. lvi; Christ, Griech. Litt., 4te Aufl., p. 663; Schwartz, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 5, p. 946.

DIONYSIUS	LIVY
ὁσμῆς αἱ ἐντοσθεν ἤσθοντο, ἀντεμυκῶντο ταῖς ἐκτοσθεν καὶ ἐγεγόνει ἡ φωνὴ αὐτῶν κατήγορος τῆς κλοπῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάκος, ἐπειδὴ περιφανὴς ἐγένετο κακουργῶν, τρέπεται πρὸς ἀλκὴν καὶ τοὺς εἰωθότας αὐτῷ συναγραυλεῖν ἀνεκάλει· Ἡρακλῆς δὲ ἀλοιῶν αὐτὸν τῷ ῥοπάλῳ κτείνει	festo agere porro armentum occepit. inde cum actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. quem cum vadentem ad speluncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava fidem pastorem nequiquam invocans morte occubuit.
ὡς δὲ καὶ τοὔνομα καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς πράξεις διεξιόντος ἐμαθον, ἐνεχείριζον αὐτῷ τήν τε χώραν καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ φιλίᾳ. Εὐανδρος δὲ παλαίτερον ἐτι τῆς Θέμιδος ἀκηκοὼς διεξιούσης, ὁτι πεπρωμένον εἰη τὸν ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Ἀλκμήνης γενόμενον Ἡρακλέα διαμείψαντα τὴν θνητὴν φύσιν ἀθάνατον γενέσθαι δι' ἀρετήν	. . . . rogitat, qui vir esset. ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit "Iove nate, Hercules, salve" inquit . . . . dextra Hercules data accipere . . . . Euander . . . . venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam adventum miratae eae gentes fuerant . . . . te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit
βωμὸν αὐτοσχέδιον ὑπὸ σπουδῆς ἱδρύεται καὶ δάμαλιν ἀζυγα θύει πρὸς αὐτῷ	ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi . . . . factum
καὶ ὡς διδάξειεν αὐτοὺς τὰς θυσίας, ἵνα διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ κεχαρισμένα θύοιεν, οἴκους δύο τῶν ἐπιφανῶν παραλαβών. εἶναι δὲ τοὺς μαθόντας τότε τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἱερουργίαν Ποτιτίους τε καὶ Ἡιναρίους, ἀφ' ὧν τὰ γένη διαμεῖναι μέχρι πολλοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιούμενα τῶν θυσιῶν, ὡς	adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae inclitae ea loca incolebant . . . . Potitii ab Euandro edocti antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt.

DIONYSIUS	LIVY
ἐκεῖνος κατεστήσατο, Ποτιτίων μὲν ἡγουμένων τῆς ἱερουργίας καὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἀπαρχομένων, Πιναρίων δὲ σπλάγχνων τε μετουσίας εἰργομένων καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα ἐχρῆν ὑπ' ἀμφοῖν γίνεσθαι τὴν δευτέραν τιμὴν ἐχόντων. ταύτην δὲ αὐτοῖς προστεθῆναι τὴν ἀτιμίαν ὀψίμου τῆς παρουσίας ἕνεκα, ἐπειδὴ ἔωθεν αὐτοῖς κελευσθὲν ἦκειν ἐσπλαγχνευμένων ἤδη τῶν ἱερῶν ἀφίκοντο, νῦν μέντοι οὐκέτι τοῖς γένεσι τούτοις ἡ περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐπιμέλεια ἀνάκειται, ἀλλὰ παῖδες ἐκ τοῦ δημοσίου ὠνητοὶ δρῶσιν αὐτάς....	forte ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus praesto essent, hisque exta apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem. inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis sollemnium vescerentur.
	antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt, donec tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio genus omne Potitiorum interiit.
ὁ δὲ βωμός, ἐφ' οὗ τὰς δεκάτας ἀπέθυσεν Ἡρακλῆς, καλεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων Μέγιστος, ἔστι δὲ (τῆς) βοαρίας λεγομένης ἀγορᾶς πλησίον.	tibique aram hic dicatum iri, quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat.

Dionysius's mention of Tubero has already been referred to.[1] The lines of absolute similarity between Livy 1. 7 and Dionysius 1. 39, 40, in their statement of the myth prove that Tubero must have been used by the latter as well as by the former. Dionysius's general use of younger sources is well known.[2]

But Dionysius after his usual fashion presents us with a second account which he thinks the truer, ὁ δ' ἀληθέστερος.[3] According to this 'truer' account (ᾧ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν ἱστορίας

[1] P. 198. Tubero is mentioned as a special source, Thuc. iud., 1; cf. 1. 7; Bocksch, de fontibus Dionysii Hal., Leipz., Studien, vol. 17 (1896), p. 167 ff.

[2] Cf. Soltau, Livius' Geschichtswerk, p. 185; Virck, die Quellen d. Livius u. Dionysius f. d. älteste Gesch. d. Röm. Republik, Strassburg, 1877, p. 5 f.; Christ, Griech Litt., 4te Aufl., p. 660.

[3] 1. 41.

σχήματι τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διηγησαμένων ἐχρήσαντο), Hercules is the best general of his time and leader of a force, destroying tyranny and righting wrongs. He comes into Italy not driving cattle but marshalling an army that had overcome Iberia, and had battled with the warlike Ligurians in the Alps 'as told by Aeschylus'[1] and had won only because Zeus hurled down thunderbolts to save his son. He fights with Cacus who is the ruler over a wild race of men inhabiting strongholds, and who with a band had stolen a march on the Greek force and seized their booty while they rested. In the siege that follows Cacus is taken. After sacrificing a tithe of his booty to the gods and founding a shrine Hercules departs into Sicily.[2]

The Euhemerism of this pragmatic account is painfully evident. The very attempt to strip the myth of its fabulous characteristics and to find for it a rationalistic, historical basis indicates the probable source; this version was due to Piso, whose habit it was to attempt the rationalization of myths.[3] Piso, furthermore, is one of the writers whom Dionysius specially mentions as a source.[4] Again, Dionysius approved of Piso's treatment of myths and was quite ready, therefore, to designate his second, pragmatic version as ἀληθέστερος.[5] The influence of Piso is marked in the first five books of Dionysius.[6] But beyond Piso lay an-

[1] Prom. Invinct. ap. Strabo, 4, pp. 182, 183 = fr. 196.

[2] Dionysius, 1. 41-43.

[3] Cf. Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. clxxxxv.

[4] Cf. 1. 7, 3; 79, 4; 2. 38, 3; 4. 7, 5; 4. 15, 5; Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, pp. 128, 24; 129, 25.

[5] Cf. Varro, L. L. 5. 148 on Curtius, and Sanders, Tarpeia, Univ. Mich. Stud., vol. 1, pp. 2-6; for further indications of Piso's influence upon Dionysius cf. Plut. Num., 21; Diony. 2. 76, 5; Plin. N. H. 28. 14; Diony. 3. 35, 1; Liv. 1. 55, 7; Diony. 4. 50, 5; Plin. N. H. 34. 29; Diony. 5. 35, 2.

[6] Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. clxxxxvii.

other source or sources with all the characteristics of a pragmatic romance. Dionysius's account conforms closely to what is known of the version of Herodoros of Herakleia, who was the first to treat the myth in this manner.[1] As a factor in the development of the Hercules myth, however, the second account of Dionysius can have only a secondary interest because of the evident attempt at rationalization.

Of more interest is the version offered by Strabo 5. 3, 3:

'This, then, is the more commonly accredited story of the founding of Rome (i. e. the legend of Romulus and Remus). But there is an earlier, mythical one which relates that it was an Arcadian colony founded by Evander, by whom Hercules was entertained as a guest while he was driving the oxen of Geryon: and that Evander, upon learning from Nikostrate, his mother (who was skilled in prophecy), that it was Hercules's destiny, after ending his labors, to become a god, told Hercules these matters, dedicated to him a precinct, and performed a Greek sacrifice which is still rendered to Hercules. And Coelius, the writer of Roman history, considers this to be a proof of the Greek founding of Rome, namely the fact that in it this ancestral, Hellenic sacrifice is given to Hercules. The Romans also honor the mother of Evander, regarding her as one of the nymphs, and call her Carmenta.'

This brief version of the myth is clearly of a class with Livy 1. 7 and Dionysius 1. 39, 40. But the differences are almost as striking as the resemblances. The annalistic features of Strabo's account are in much clearer evidence than in either of the others. Cacus and his cave are not mentioned, while the institution of sacrifice on Greek lines is prominent. The interest of Strabo's narrative is furthermore heightened by the mention of his source.

[1] Müller, F. H. G., vol. 2, fr. 3-33; cf. Ephoros, F. H. G., vol. 1, p. 234 ff.; Christ, Griech. Litt., 5te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 431; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 100.

Meineke writes ὅ γε Κοίλιος. This reading, then, would make L. Coelius Antipater responsible for this version in Strabo. But Coelius Antipater wrote only of the second Punic war.[1] Coelius moreover wrote in Latin[2] whereas Strabo cites only Greek sources.[3] It is improbable, therefore, that ὅ γε Κοίλιος can be the true reading. The MSS., which are all poor,[4] have ὅ γε Κύλιος;[5] ὁ Κεκύλιος.[6] Lachmann, followed by Meineke, conjectured ὅ γε Κοίλιος. But the true emendation has doubtless been suggested by Peter.[7] Instead of ὅ γε Κοίλιος he would read ὅ γ' Ἀκύλιος. The reading Ἀκύλιος, as Peter points out, is furthermore rendered certain by the fact that fragment 2[8] = Plutarch, Rom., 21, shows that Acilius treated the legends of the founding of Rome in his *annales*. Lastly, Strabo himself, 14. 38 (p. 646), spells the word with *u*.

Strabo's account, then, is that of Acilius the older annalist, and it makes no difference, so far as the content of the myth is concerned, whether Strabo drew directly from Acilius or quoted at second hand from so trustworthy an authority as Polybios or Posidonios, his favorite sources

[1] Cic. orat., 230; Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. ccxv; Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 1, 3te Aufl., p. 278 ff.; Gensel, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 4, p. 187.

[2] Cic. de Leg., 1. 2, 6; de orat., 2. 12, 54; Brut., 26, 102; orat., 230.

[3] The only exceptions are Cicero 14. 2, 25; 17. 1, 13; Caesar, B. G. 4. 1, 1; Asinius, 4. 3, 3; Dellius, 11. 13, 3.

[4] Kramer, *praef.*, p. x ff.; Christ, Griech. Litt., 4te Aufl., p. 714.

[5] Paris, 1393, Venet. 377. [6] Medic. 28. 5.

[7] Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. cxxi.

[8] Γάϊος δὲ Ἀκίλιος ἱστορεῖ πρὸ τῆς κτίσεως τὰ θρέμματα τῶν περὶ τὸν Ῥωμύλον ἀφανῆ γενέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ [τοὺς Λουπέρκους] τῷ φαύνῳ προσευξαμένους ἐκδραμεῖν γυμνοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ζήτησιν, ὅπως ὑπὸ τοῦ ἱδρῶτος μὴ ἐνοχλοῖντο· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γυμνοὺς περιτρέχειν τοὺς Λουπέρκους.

for this portion of his geography.[1] As a myth it belongs to the older annalists and bears every mark of a lineal antecedent of the accounts of Livy 1. 7 and Dionysius 1. 39.

Another statement of the myth which professes to go back to the annalists is that of Solinus 1. 7.[2] According to it Cacus, who had come with Megales a Phrygian[3] on an embassy from the east, had been held in bondage, had escaped and, returning with reinforcements, had seized Volturnum, was overcome by Hercules:

Quippe aram Hercules, quam voverat, si amissas boves repperisset, punito Caco patri Inventori dicavit. qui Cacus habitavit locum, cui Salinae nomen est: ubi Trigemina nunc porta. hic, ut Gellius tradidit, cum a Tarchone Tyrrheno, ad quem legatus venerat missu Marsyae regis, socio Megale Phryge, custodiae foret datus, frustratus vincula et unde venerat redux, praesidiis amplioribus occupato circa Vulturnum et Campaniam regno, dum adtrectare etiam ea audet, quae concesserant in Arcadum iura, duce Hercule qui tunc forte aderat oppressus est. Megalen Sabini receperunt, disciplinam augurandi ab eo docti. suo quoque numini idem Hercules instituit aram, quae maximam apud pontifices habetur, cum se ex Nicostrate, Euandri matre, quae a vaticinio Carmentis dicta est, immortalem conperisset. consaeptum etiam, intra quod ritus sacrorum, factis bovicidiis, docuit Potitios, sacellum Herculi in Boario foro est, in quo argumenta et convivii et maiestatis ipsius remanent.

This is held by Peter[4] to be a true fragment of Gellius, the annalist. There is, however, room for reasonable

[1] Zimmermann, Posidonius und Strabo, Hermes, vol. 23 (1888), pp. 103-130; Christ, Griech. Litt., 4te Aufl., p. 712.

[2] Mommsen, 2te Aufl., p. 4.

[3] Cf. Pseudo-Serv., in Aen., 3. 359; Petersen, Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch., Inst., vol. 14 (1899), pp. 43, n. 45. The passage is grossly misinterpreted by Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2276, as Wissowa rightly points out; cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1166.

[4] Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. ccxxxxii, fr. 7, p. 166.

doubt. Notwithstanding the citation of Gellius's name one may question whether he can be held responsible for all of the version given. Solinus, we may be sure, never consulted Gellius for the myth any more than he used at first hand Heraclides, Agathocles, Silenus, and the rest of the twenty-two Greek and Latin writers mentioned,[1] although his salutation makes earnest pretense of so doing (3). His work is confessedly a compilation. From whom it is compiled it is, however, impossible to say with certitude. His indebtedness to Pliny and to Mela has been pointed out by Mommsen,[2] and in addition to these two Mommsen is inclined to look to a Cornelius Bocchus, who lived in Claudius's time, as a direct source. The passage in question (1. 7) is certainly due to neither Pliny nor Mela: Mommsen's Bocchus remains then as the historical *x*.[3] But the full citation of authors warrants the assumption that Bocchus's (?) work must in turn have been a compilation, either mediate or immediate, of a work which contained in some form the information presented by Solinus. What that work was is the problem.

A review of the authors cited in order will present the following names: Heraclides (1. 2), Agathocles (1. 3), Gellius (1. 8), and Varro (1. 17), who gives more particular data for the founding of Rome.[4] Now notwithstanding the fact that Varro[5] is not mentioned as an authority till after the passage in question, it may be pos-

[1] Mommsen, *praef.*, p. xiii; Teuffel-Schwabe-Warr, History of Roman Literature, vol. 2, p. 292; Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 3, 2te Aufl., p. 236.

[2] See 2te Aufl., *praef.*, p. xiv.

[3] Cf. the view of Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 3, 2te Aufl., p. 236.

[4] Cf. Sanders, The Chronology of Early Rome, Class. Phil., vol. 3 (1908), p. 316 ff.

[5] Referred to as *auctor diligentissimus*.

sible to show that his influence begins with the very opening statement of the book itself. That is, Varro, instead of being a secondary source, is the prime source, and the other authorities cited as prime sources are in reality sources mentioned by the prime source which have been taken over bodily.

A comparison with Festus will show not only a citation of the same author but a presentation of the same fact from each.

FESTUS	SOLINUS
Historiae Cumanae compositor, Athenis quosdam profectos Sicyonem Thespiadasque, ex quibus porro civitatibus, ob inopiam domiciliorum, compluris profectos in exteras regiones, delatos in Italiam, eosque multo errore nominatos Aborigines. quorum subiecti qui fuerint Caeximparum viri, unicarumque virium imperio montem Palatium, in quo frequentissimi consederint, appellavisse a viribus regentis Valentiam; quod nomen adventu Euandri Aeneaeque in Italiam cum magna Graece loquentium copia interpretatum, dici coeptum Rhomem.	Sunt qui videri velint Romae vocabulum ab Euandro primum datum, cum oppidum ibi offendisset, quod extructum antea Valentiam dixerat iuventus Latina, servataque significatione inpositi prius nominis, Romam Graece Valentiam nominatam (cf. Pseudo-Servius, *in Aen.*, 1. 273).
Agathocles, Cyzicenarum rerum conscribtor, ait, vaticinio Heleni impulsum Aeneam, Italiam petivisse portantem suam secum neptem Ascani filiam nomine Rhomam, eamque, ut Italia sint	Agathocles scribit Romen non captivam fuisse, ut supra dictum est, sed Ascanio natam Aeneae neptem appellationis istius causam fuisse.

FESTUS	SOLINUS
Phryges potiti et his regionibus maxime, quae nunc sunt vicinae urbi, prima omnium consecrasse in Palatio Fidei templum	
Lembos, qui appellatur Heraclides, existimat, revertentibus ab Ilio Achivis, quendam tempestate deiectos in Italiae regiones secutos Tiberis decursum pervenisse, ubi nunc sit Roma, ibique propter taedium navigationis impulsas captivas auctoritate virginis cuiusdam tempestivae nomine Rhomes, incendisse classem, atque ab ea necessitate ibi manendi urbem conditam ab is, et potissimum eius nomine eam appellatam, a cuius consilio eas sedes sibi firmavissent.	Heraclidi placet Troia capta quosdam ex Achivis in ea loca ubi nunc Roma est devenisse per Tiberim, deinde suadente Rome nobilissima captivarum quae his comes erat, incensis navibus posuisse sedes, struxisse moenia et oppidum ab ea Romen vocavisse (cf. Pseudo-Servius, *in Aen.*, 1. 273).
Festus M. 266 = P. 362.	Solinus 1. 1-3.

That the knowledge of Festus is derived in large part from Varro through Verrius Flaccus is well known.[1] But that Varro is the source here is proved by the fact that after the citation of various Greek authors, the opinion of Varro is given, and after Varro comes a slight correction from Verrius Flaccus. That is, the order of citation in Festus shows that Festus took the content of Verrius Flaccus, as Verrius Flaccus had used Varro, adding the variant from Flaccus. Solinus presents precisely the same material though in a much condensed form, as he admits in his salutation: *liber est ad compendium praeparatus,*

[1] Cf. p. 203; Agahd, Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., Suppl., vol. 24 (1898), p. 134; Wessner, Berl. Phil. Wochenschr., 1904, pp. 681-685.

quantumque ratio passa est ita moderate repressus, ut nec prodiga sit in eo copia nec damnosa concinnitas (2). Solinus, therefore, or rather his antecedent, either used Varro, as 1. 17 indicates, or he borrowed from Verrius Flaccus. The former is doubtless the case inasmuch as Varro in his work *de Gente Populi Romani*[1] had treated fully this entire subject, whereas Flaccus could have treated it only incidentally in the *de Verborum Significatione*. The influence of Varro upon Solinus, a factor unrecognized by Mommsen, has been proved by Sanders[2] to be very strong.

Now it is improbable that the original content of the notice of the annalist Gellius, who was doubtless consulted by Varro, could have passed through so many hands and still remain intact, as Peter's use of the extract from Solinus would suggest.[3] But even if the very thought to which Gellius's name is attached was indeed derived from him by Varro or some other, there is still no warrant for considering this a primitive or the primitive form of the myth at Rome. The treatment which one would be led to expect from Gellius, and the only portion of value, lies in the last part of Solinus's passage, not the variant to which his name is attached. This variant is certainly a wilful distortion of a kind with Flaccus's Garanus, precisely whose distortion it is impossible to say. The attempt at historical rationalization at once stamps it as a later working over of the myth. The connection of Cacus with the east through Tarchon could only have come through

[1] Cf. Arnobius, adv. Nat., 5, 8; Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 1, 2te Aufl., p. 371 f.

[2] The Annals of Varro, A. J. P., vol. 23 (1902), pp. 42-44.

[3] Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. ccxxxxii fr. 7, p. 166; Wissowa, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1166, also places too great credence in the authority and authenticity of the passage.

confusion or wilful distortion of the provenance of the two chief characters of the myth. A possible explanation is that Tyrrhenus was known or supposed to have come from Lydia to Italy[1] and was sometimes reputed to be the son of Herakles and the Lydian Omphale.[2] The coming from the east of Herakles and Tyrrhenus may have seemed a sufficient warrant for bringing an embassy of Cacus from the same region, thus giving the myth an eastern setting.

The similarity of the trend of the narrative to the Euhemeristic account of Dionysius cannot pass unnoticed. In explanation two suppositions may be urged: (1) Dionysius may have drawn his account from Gellius, which in the face of the argument for Piso p. 214 is improbable. The similarity between the two passages concerns form and method of treatment rather than content. (2) Dionysius and Gellius, who is not an earlier annalist,[3] both drew from Piso. The second supposition is probably the correct one. Gellius's narrative, as given by Solinus, is clearly of a class with Dionysius 1. 41-43. Whatever may be the precise relationship between Piso, Gellius, and Dionysius, the portion of the account immediately attributed to Gellius by Solinus, is, like the account of Piso as given by Dionysius, of secondary interest as a factor in the development of the myth.

The author whom we next meet has left us in no doubt as to the content and source of his myth. Of all ancient writers no one has devoted more space to Hercules than Diodorus Siculus.[4] This account, prefaced by words echoed centuries later by Wissowa[5] and concluded in a vein like that of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff,[6] devotes but scant attention, however, to the myth of Hercules at Rome as com-

[1] Herod. 1. 94. [2] Dionys. 1. 28; Paus. 2. 21, 3.
[3] Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, pp. ccxxxviiii, ccxxxx.
[4] 4. 8-40. [5] Relig. u. Kult., p. 219.
[6] Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 38.

pared with his other labors. But the account presents such interesting matter that the author's mention of Timaeus[1] as his source is a cause of gratification. That Diodorus's presentation of the Hercules myth upon Italian soil is taken from Timaeus is granted not only by Diodorus himself but by the several writers who have in any way concerned themselves with the study of the sources of Diodorus.[2]

'Hercules, after passing through the land of the Ligurians and the Tyrrhenians, came to the Tiber river and encamped where Rome now stands. Rome, however, was founded many generations later by Romulus, the son of Mars; but at that time some of the natives dwelt on what is now called the Palatine, inhabiting a very small city. Here Cacius and Pinarius, who were among the prominent men, welcomed Hercules with noteworthy tokens of friendship and honored him with pleasing gifts. And the memorials of these men remain in Rome until the present time, for the race of the noble Pinarii, surpassing all in age, still survives among the Romans. There is also the descent of Cacius on the Palatine, which has a stone stairway named Cacia after him and which is near what was then the house of Cacius. Accordingly Hercules, having received the goodwill of the inhabitants of the Palatine, foretold to them that after his departure to the gods whosoever should vow to sacrifice to him a tithe of their substance should lead a happier life—a custom which continued throughout later times until our own day. For many Romans, not only those possessed of moderate wealth, but even some of the exceedingly rich, after making a vow to consecrate a tithe to Hercules, and becoming prosperous thereafter, have consecrated the tithe of possessions amounting to four thousand talents. For Lucullus, who was about the wealthiest of the Romans

[1] 4. 21, 7; 4. 22, 6; 4. 56, 3.

[2] Cf. Sieroka, die Mythographischen Quellen für Diodor's drittes und viertes Buch, Lyck, 1878, p. 24; Holzer, Matris, Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkritik Diodors, Tübingen, 1881, p. 19; Bethe, Quaestiones Diodoreae Mythographae, Göttingen, 1887, p. 34; Schwartz, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 5, p. 676.

in his day, made a reckoning of his property and sacrificed an entire tenth to the god, making continuous and costly feasts. And the Romans have also provided for this god a memorable shrine near the Tiber, in which they are wont to perform the sacrifices of the tithes.' (Diodorus Siculus, 4. 21, 1-4.)

But it is evident that all this cannot have been taken from Timaeus. The mention of Lucullus, for instance, as the wealthiest Roman of his time who sacrificed a tenth of his possessions to the god, is obviously an addition of Diodorus's own. The sentence beginning 'And the memorials of these men remain,' and also the one following it, mentioning the *scalae Caci,* may, possibly, be aetiological additions made by Diodorus to the narrative of Timaeus. Both sentences are digressions whose omission would in no way mar the sequence of thought. But we have no reason to doubt that Timaeus was responsible for the outline of the myth. The coming of Hercules to the Tiber's side, and the institution of a sacrifice wherein the offering of tithes was mandatory, form the core of the myth. The mention of Κάκιος with *Pinarius* as the host of Hercules is a strange variant found only here, but it is a variant which is certainly due to Timaeus himself. Cacus, or Cacius, as he is called, has usurped in some strange way the place of the *Potitii,* who are not mentioned. Bréal, giving the incorrect form Κάκιας, and wrongly ascribing it to Dionysius as well as Diodorus, thinks that Cacus was once *Caecius,* "le démon qui obscurcit le ciel." Caecius he then explains by Καικίας, the storm-wind that brings clouds.[1] Diodorus[2]

[1] Arist. ap. Aul. Gell., 2. 22, 24; Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, p. 101: "Caecius qui attire les nuages est identique au brigand Caecius qui attire les boeufs de Jupiter"; so Steinthal identifies Cacus with the northwest wind, Arch. f. Religionswiss., vol. 1 (1898), p. 183 ff.; cf. Preuner, Hestia-Vesta, p. 392, n. 2; Preller, Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 2, p. 287.

[2] Cf. Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2273.

may have been influenced by some existent personal name such as appears in C. I. L. X, 4736; I. R. N. 6769, col. 5, v. 21. But it is easier to believe that Timaeus—not Diodorus, who must have known the form Cacus, and could have written it had he wished to differ from his source—was misled by the ending in the word Πινάριος = Pinarius into writing Κάκιος. Another credible explanation is that Timaeus must have known of the *scalae Caci* simply by the Greek name of Κλῖμαξ Κακία, and by inference or analogy was led to write Κάκιος for the eponymous hero.[1] For the *scalae Caci* were far better known than the god Cacus.[2] They were on the Palatine and led into the *forum boarium,* the recognized scene of the myth. They thus became associated with the myth at an early date, and instead of being called after Cacus, it is probable that the creation of Cacus himself was an aetiological afterthought suggested by the existence of the stairs. This mention of Cacius is furthermore significant from the light it throws upon the place of Cacus in the myth. Cacus is a constant, but constantly changing, feature of the myth. The Romans themselves appear to have known scarcely more about him than is known to-day,[3] and hence a new characterization could easily be effected for him without disturbing popular tradition. In Livy and the first account of Dionysius we found him to be a pastoral robber; in the *Origo,* a slave of Evander with thievish propensities; in the second account of Dionysius, a ruler over a wild race of men; in Strabo, wholly absent; and in Solinus, an embassador, in bondage, from the east. In the accounts of the poets, to be considered later,[4] he is regularly a fire-breathing monster inhabiting a subterranean cavern. All this points to the fact that Cacus is everywhere, with the significant

[1] Cf. Wissowa, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1166.
[2] Cf. p. 233. [3] Cf. p. 233 ff. [4] Cf. p. 227 ff.

exception of Strabo's account, a constant character, but not an essential one, in the myth. The myth, therefore, in reality represents an accretion made to the Hercules myth after that myth had become known to the Romans.[1]

The absence of the *Potitii* from both the accounts of Strabo, i. e. Acilius, and of Diodorus, i. e. Timaeus, is likewise significant. For the *Potitii,* like Cacus, are an aetiological accretion. The *Pinarii,* who represent the officiating but hungry priesthood, are everywhere a fixed feature. Their hunger is a mythological invention from their name.[2] In opposition to them, the rationalizing tendency of mythology was bound to create a superior, satisfied priesthood in the *Potitii,* who had control, as the name signifies, of the ritual. The fact that their name never occurs on inscriptions or in literature,[3] and the fact that several of the accounts represent them as dying within a year or within thirty days, are further evidence that their association with the myth and ritual was due to a rationalizing afterthought.

Diodorus's account presents a further noteworthy feature, namely the injunction concerning the offering of tithes to Hercules. This part of the narrative certainly goes back to Timaeus himself. This is shown by the words which immediately follow: ὃ καὶ (i. e. the custom of offering tithes) συνέβη κατὰ τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους διαμεῖναι μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων. For if there had been no mention of this practice in Timaeus there would obviously be no point to the added thought beginning with ὃ καί. The tithe offering is therefore a leading feature of the myth as early as the time of Timaeus.

In spite of its variants and manifest accretions, it is evident that this version of the myth, when reduced to

[1] Cf. p. 268 ff. [2] Cf. p. 208. [3] Cf. p. 198 n. 1.

its outlines, belongs to the general type exemplified by Livy 1. 7 and Strabo 5. 3,3. In all there is the same story of the coming to the Tiber, the welcome, the prediction, and the institution of the sacrifice. Traces of the pragmatic treatment which characterizes the myth in Dionysius 1. 41-43, however, also appear. Thus Diodorus's use of the verb κατεστρατοπέδευσεν in reference to Hercules at once suggests an army and historical rationalization. The account of Diodorus stands as a peculiar factor in the development of the myth complex.

We pass now to a class of myths permeated by a wholly different spirit, the myths of the Roman poets. As in the Greek,[1] so in the Roman myth there are two methods of treatment, the realistic and the romantic, sharply defined and mutually disparate. In the writers previously considered the myth is realistic, but in the poets and those influenced by the poets it becomes frankly romantic. It is furthermore important to remember that the aim of a romantic and poetical treatment is artistic effect, not historical or even mythic accuracy. Any analysis of the different versions, therefore, must take into consideration the fact that a freer handling of the material is to be expected. It thus becomes immaterial so far as the study of the myth is concerned whether, for example, all[2] or eight[3] or two[4] of the cattle are stolen by Cacus. The variation in number is a matter of no moment; the presence of some number is significant. The minor divergences in the different accounts only bring into more marked prominence their traces of kinship. That kinship is made most manifest by the treatment of Cacus. Hercules throughout is the weary hero who loses his cattle by the theft of Cacus.

[1] Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, p. 462.
[2] Propertius, 4. 9, 10 ff.
[3] Virgil, Aeneid, 8. 207 f.
[4] Ovid, Fasti, 1. 548.

A combat ensues in which Cacus, a monster, breathes forth fire and smoke against the avenging god, who pushes on through darkness and fire and fells the robber with his mighty club. This is a feature that was wholly unrecognized in the myths previously considered. From this time on it becomes one of the marked characteristics. So in Virgil,[1] for instance, the dread monster Cacus, the son of Vulcan, dwells in a cave shut off from the sun's rays, the ground whereof is always dank with fresh slaughter, while the faces of men fastened on the doors are whitening and wasting away. In his gait he lunges forward breathing forth flames, and in the combat fire and smoke are his weapons of defense. The points of similarity to the myth of Livy 1. 7 and the marked deviations will be apparent from an examination of Virgil's narrative, Aeneid 8. 184-272.

Clearly the account is not of the same source as Livy's. Yet there are certain traces of resemblance, as indicated in the table, p. 242 ff. But a careful examination of the points of resemblance will show that Virgil, although his antiquarian research[2] must have made him familiar with the forms of the myth as told by the later annalists, can have employed them in only the slightest degree. Precisely that element which distinguishes his version, namely the conception of Cacus as a subterranean fire deity, is wholly wanting in the annalists. This element, therefore, is either a masterpiece of Virgil's own fashioning or a borrowing in whole or part from some source other than the annalists, to whom, as to Livy, such features seemed *poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis.*[3]

[1] Aeneid, 8. 193 ff.

[2] Pseudo-Servius, in Aen., 3. 286; Teuffel-Schwabe-Warr, Rom. Lit., vol. 1, p. 434; Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 2. 1, 2te Aufl., pp. 49, 56 ff.

[3] Livy, *praef.*, 6.

Virgil's method of handling other episodes of great poetical beauty [1] and the general character of ancient literary workmanship among poets as well as historians lead us to investigate the second of the two alternatives. Are there traces of Virgil's treatment of the Hercules-Cacus episode in earlier writers? The sources of a poetical account like Virgil's are much more difficult to determine than those of an historical narrative. For the poet will work and mould anew with an eye to artistic effect whatever material may come to his hand. A chance remark of Macrobius 5. 14, 16, furnishes a clew to part of the problem. In speaking of Virgil's indebtedness to Homer, Macrobius says: *et de furto vel poena Caci tota narratio.* This notice, short and unsatisfactory as it is, still possesses significance from the fact that Macrobius, having before him the whole body of ancient literature as we have not, was in a position to know that in Latin at least there could have been no previous, similar, literary version of any pretension. Macrobius is right in so far that the fact and manner of the theft of the cattle by Cacus coincide with the cattle-stealing of Hermes in the old [2] Homeric hymn. The parallel follows:

VIRGIL	HYMN TO HERMES
At furis Caci mens effera, nequid inausum/aut intractatum scelerisve dolive fuisset,/ quattuor a stabulis praestanti corpore tauros/avertit, totidem forma superante iuvencas;/atque hos, nequa forent pedibus vestigia rectis,/cauda	Ἔνθα θεῶν μακάρων βόες ἀμβροτοι αὔλιν ἔχεσκον, βοσκόμεναι λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους ἐρατεινούς. τῶν τότε Μαιάδος υἱός, εὐσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης, πεντήκοντ' ἀγέλης ἀπετάμνετο βοῦς ἐριμύκους.

[1] Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 2. 1, 2te Aufl., p. 57.

[2] Christ, Griech. Litt., 5te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 98; Sikes and Allen, The Homeric Hymns, p. 133 f.

VIRGIL	HYMN TO HERMES
in speluncam tractos versisque viarum/indiciis raptor saxo occultabat opaco:/quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.	πλανοδίας δ' ἤλαυνε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον,
Aeneid, 8. 205-212.	ἴχνι' ἀποστρέψας· δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης,
	ἀντία ποιήσας ὁπλάς, τὰς πρόσθεν ὀπισθεν,
	τὰς δ' ὀπιθεν πρόσθεν, κατὰ δ' ἐμπαλιν αὐτὸς ἐβαινε
	ll. 71-78 [1]

Everyone will recall in this connection the version of Horace,[2] taken, says Porphyrio,[3] from Alcaeus.[4] Cattle-stealing myths, in fact, are not infrequent in early mythology.[5] There can be no doubt that Virgil had the Homeric hymn in mind. Again, the spirit of the combat between Hercules and Cacus is not unlike that of what Leaf calls the "Aeneid"[6] of the Iliad, 20. 50-73; cf. also 161-175. And the realm of Aidoneus is grim and vast and loathly to the gods,

> οἰκία δὲ θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι φανείη
> σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.[7]

[1] The theft of the cows of Apollo is known to have been related by Hesiod in the Μεγάλαι Ἠοῖαι (cf. Antonius Liberalis, 23), but no fragment is preserved.

[2] Odes, 1. 10, 9-12.

[3] Ad loc.

[4] Alcaeus, fr. 5; cf. Paus. 7. 20, 4; Kiessling, Horatius, 3te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 64.

[5] Cf. Odyss. 19. 396; Pherecydes, F. H. G., vol. 1, fr. 63; Antonius Liberalis, 23; Apollod. 3. 10, 2; Hygin. Fab., 201; Kuhn, Ueber d. Entwicklungsstufen der Mythenbildung, Abhandl. d. Berl. Akad., 1873, p. 123 ff.; Preuner, Jahresb. ü. d. Fortschr. d. cl. Alter., vol. 7 (1876), p. 9 ff.; Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, p. 100 ff.; Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2279; Sikes and Allen, The Homeric Hymns, p. 130 ff.

[6] Leaf, Iliad, vol. 2, p. 348.

[7] Iliad, 20. 64, 65.

like Cacus's cave. And the rock that figures in Virgil[1] is the identical rock of Homer.[2]

But there are also evident in Virgil's myth elements to which the Homeric poems afford only slight parallels. The conception of Cacus as a fire deity is of course unknown to them. But Virgil is still indebted, nevertheless, to Greek mythology and to Greek literature for all his poetic pyrotechnics. His version, however, I believe, is not a parallel to or imitation of the Geryon myth, as Wilamowitz-Moellendorff[3] and Wissowa[4] think, but much more a remodelling of the Typhoeus myth in Hesiod's Theogony.[5] Typhoeus, too, is a subterranean evil-doer whose weapons

[1] Aeneid, 8. 241 ff. [2] Iliad, 20. 285, 286.

[3] Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 45.

[4] Relig. u. Kult., p. 230; Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1167; cf. also Pais, Ancient Legends of Roman History, London, 1906, p. 213.

[5] Hes. Theog., 820 ff.; Hymn to Apollo; Pindar, Pyth., 1. 21ff.; Aesch. Prom., 351 ff.; Sept., 493. Aeschylus probably followed Pindar. Both were in Sicily together in 476 B. C. (Christ, Griech. Litt., 5te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 220 and n. 6), and both described the eruption of Aetna. Both are in turn indebted to some extent to Hesiod; cf. Gruppe, Bericht über Myth. u. Religionsgesch., in Jahresb. ü. d. Fortschr. d. kl. Alter., Sup. vol. 137 (1908), p. 141. In Pindar Typhoeus is ἑκατοντακάρανος (cf. O. 4. 6, P. 8. 16), as also in Aesch. Prom., 355. Hesiod speaks only of ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος. Both P. and A. speak of the Cilician cave, the former home of Typhoeus, whereof Hesiod has no trace. So, too, Milton, Par. L., 1. 198 ff. "Typhon, whom the den / By ancient Tarsus held," and M. Arnold, Emped. on Aetna, act 2, the song of Callicles, a paraphrase in part of Pindar: "Doth thy fierce soul still deplore / Thine ancient rout by the Cilician hills?" In both P. and A. there is the vivid picture of the eruption of Hephaestus, Prom. 369 ff. (cf. Hor. O. 1. 4, 8), and the fire-streams, ποταμοὶ πυρὸς ἀπλάτου, Pindar, P. 1. 21 f., A. Prom. 370, 373. There can be no doubt of the superiority of P.'s description. Cf. Christ, Der Aetna in der Griech. Poesie, Sitzungsb. d. bayr. Akad., 1888, p. 359 ff.

are fire and smoke, the deity of a volcanic region.[1] Typhoeus, like Cacus, is swift of foot: *πόδες ἀκάματοι κρατεροῦ θεοῦ*, *fugit ilicet ocior euro . . . . pedibus timor addidit alas.* The dread aspect of Typhoeus, *ἐκ δέ οἱ ὤμων/ἦν ἑκατὸν κεφαλαὶ ὄφιος, δεινοῖο δράκοντος*, reappears in the grim features of Cacus, *semihominis Caci facies . . . . dira . . . . terribilis oculos:* both defy description, *ἀθέσφατον*, *mirabile dictu . . . . δεινοῖο πελώρου informe cadaver.* Typhoeus's weapons of defense, like those of Cacus, consist of fire and smoke: *ἐκ δέ οἱ ὄσσων/θεσπεσίης κεφαλῆσιν ὑπ' ὀφρύσι πῦρ ἀμάρυσσεν:/πασέων δ' ἐκ κεφαλέων πῦρ καίετο δερκομένοιο*, *Cacus illius atros/ore vomens ignis . . . . faucibus ingentem fumum/evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca . . . . incendia vana vomentem . . . . extinctos faucibus ignis.* In Hesiod Typhoeus has the voice of the bellowing bull, *ταύρου ἐριβρυχέω*, while in Virgil Cacus is evidently speechless but is betrayed by the bellowing of the cattle in his cave, *mugire . . . . mugiit.* Both have an unbridled spirit, *μένος ἀσχέτου*, *mens effera.* Zeus hurls his thunder, *ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα/σμερδαλέον κονάβησε καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρὺς ὕπερθε/πόντος τ' Ὠκεανοῦ τε ῥοαὶ καὶ τάρταρα γαίης κ. τ. λ.*[2] So, too, Hercules hurls his tree, *impulsu quo maximus intonat aether/dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis.* As Cacus's cave is filled with fire and smoke, *fumum . . . . evomit involvitque domum caligine caeca,/prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque sub antro/fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris,* so in Hesiod, *καῦμα δ' ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων κάτεχεν ἰοειδέα πόντον/βροντῆς τε στεροπῆς τε, πυρός τ' ἀπὸ τοῖο πελώρου,/πρηστήρων ἀνέμων τε κεραυνοῦ τε φλεγέθοντος./ἔξεε δὲ χθὼν πᾶσα καὶ οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα.*[3] Again, *τρέε δ' Ἀΐδης, ἐνέροισι καταφθιμένοισι ἀνάσσων,/Τιτῆνές θ' ὑποταρτάριοι, Κρόνον ἀμφὶς ἐόντες,/ἀσβέστου*

[1] Preller-Robert, Griech. Myth., 4te Aufl., pp. 63-66.
[2] Cf. Milton's paraphrase, Par. L., 1. 540.
[3] Cf. Virgil, Aen., 8. 303, 304.

κελάδοιο καὶ αἰνῆς δηϊοτῆτος, with its reminiscence of Iliad 14. 274-279; 20. 50-73, is the prototype of *specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens/regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae:/non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens/infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat/pallida, dis invisa, superque immane barathrum/cernatur, trepident immisso lumine manes.* As Zeus seizes his weapons in haste εἵλετο δ' ὅπλα, so Hercules *rapit arma.* Zeus, successful, at last sears Typhoeus with his levin, ἀμφὶ δὲ πάσας/ἔπρεσε θεσπεσίας κεφαλὰς δεινοῖο πελώρου, while Cacus, using the same means, fails. That Typhoeus was in the poet's mind is proved by his reference to the Greek god only a little later:

> . . . . te ianitor Orci
> ossa super recubans antro semessa cruento;
> nec te ullae facies, non terruit ipse Typhoeus,
> arduus arma tenens. (Aen., 8. 296-299.)

But more convincing than even the detailed verbal resemblances is the general setting of the two situations. There can be no doubt, it seems to me, that the splendid situation in Virgil owes its conception to a careful study of Hesiod's Typhoeus. It is probable also that Virgil was influenced by the Μεγάλαι Ἠοῖαι of Hesiod.[1] Virgil has made a poetic and important figure of Cacus, the comparatively unknown Roman god.[2] For the ancients themselves knew scarcely more of Cacus than is known to-day. They had an *atrium Caci,* and the *scalae Caci,*[3] to be sure,

[1] Cf. Antonius Liberalis, 23.

[2] Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., pp. 24, n. 1, 144; Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1165 ff.

[3] Diodor. 4. 21; Solin. 1. 18; cf. Schwegler, Röm. Geschichte, vol. 1, p. 373, n. 16; Jordan, Topogr., vol. 2, p. 553; Richter, Topogr., p. 34 ff.; Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2273 f.; Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1165 f.; the flight of steps on the Aventine mentioned only once, Not. Reg., 13, *scalae Cassi* is perhaps a corruption for *scalae Caci* on the Palatine (cf. Platner, Topogr. and Mon., p. 392).

but the eponymous god had long since passed from remembrance. He had a sister *Caca* concerning whom there are only two late notices: Lactantius, Inst., 1. 20, 36,[1] and Servius *in Aen.*, 8. 190 = Myth. Vat., 2. 153; 3. 13, in the light of which Preuner's supposition[2] that Caca was identical with, and later displaced by, Vesta as an ancient goddess of the hearth cannot be proved.[3] There probably was an old Italic deity concealed under the name of Cacus who may have been a subterranean fire god, but his primitive character cannot be determined in the light of present knowledge. The fact that he is called the son of Vulcan[4] is obviously of no value in determining his original character before Virgil gave it permanent form by his treatment. No references to his worship exist, and in general it does not appear that he ever was the object of any. Nature worship, as Wissowa clearly points out, is not a characteristic of Roman religion.[5]

The identification of Cacus with κακός[6] can have arisen only after the original significance of both *nomen* and *numen* had been lost. For the *a* in Cacus is long and does not correspond, therefore, to the Greek κακός. The ethical philology whereby Cacus becomes the "Badman" as op-

[1] Some MSS. read *Caeca;* cf. Wissowa, Relig. p. Kult., p. 24, n. 1; p. 144; Usener, Götternamen, p. 33.

[2] Hestia-Vesta, p. 386 f.; Röm. Mitt., vol. 10 (1895), pp. 163, 164; Platner, Topogr. and Mon., p. 131.

[3] Cf. Aust., Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1164.

[4] Virg. Aen., 8. 198; Ovid, F. 1. 554; Serv., in Aen., 8. 190; Aug. C. D. 19. 12; Plut. Amat., 18. F; Georg. Syncell. p. 323 (171 C) = Euseb. Chron., vol. 1, p. 283, ed. Schoene.

[5] Relig. u. Kult., p. 20.

[6] Aug. C. D. 19. 12; Serv., in Aen., 8. 190 = Myth. Vat., 1. 66; 2. 153; 3. 13, 1; Albericus, 22; Fulgentius, 2. 6; Eustath., Hom., p. 157, 1; 906, 45; 1817, 1; cf. Meyer, Griech. Etym., vol. 2, p. 231.

posed to Evander, the "Goodman,"[1] is evidence of late rationalism in the myths. He became "bad" only when the Romans learned Greek. Greek wrought upon him a moral change. As a fire deity and physiographical god, if he was such, he is the natural working out of the personifying apperception of primitive minds amid the phenomena of a volcanic region.[2] He is probably identical with the *Caeculus,* the diminutive of Caecus, that appears in the myth of the founding of Praeneste:

Cato in Originibus ait Caeculum virgines aquam petentes in foco invenisse ideoque Vulcani filium eum existimasse et, quod oculos exiguos haberet, Caeculum appellatum. Hic collecticiis pastoribus urbem Praeneste fundavit. Hunc Varro ab Depidiis pastoribus educatum ipsique Depidio nomen fuisse et datum cognomentum Caeculo tradit libro, qui inscribitur Marius aut de fortuna. (Schol. Veron. *in* Virg. Aen., 7. 681 (Hagen, vol. 3. 2).[3])

Caecus is as natural an attribute for Cacus as τυφλός is for Typhoeus. It may be connected with καίω, *caleo,*[4] and

[1] Serv., in Aen., 8. 190.

[2] Cf. Gruppe on Typhoeus, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, p. 409. Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, pref. p. V, emphasizes the relation between the religion of a people and the natural features of its country; cf. Ampère, L'Histoire romaine à Rome, deux. éd., Paris, 1863, vol. 1, pp. 171 and note, 172; Burn, Rome and the Campagna, London, 1876, p. 21 f.; Nissen, Italische Landeskunde, erster Band, Berlin, 1883, kap. 6; Richter, Topogr. d. Stadt Rom., 2te Aufl., p. 25; Platner, Topogr. and Mon., p. 12.

[3] Cf. Serv., in Aen., 7. 678; Solin. 2. 9; Festus (Ponor), p. 31; Tertull. ad Nat., 2. 15; Agahd, Ter. Varronis Ant., Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., Sup., vol. 24 (1898), p. 177; cf. Varro, L. L. 9. 58; *at si fenestram non habet, dicitur Caecum, ut Caecus et Caeca, quod omnia (habent) lumen habere debent.*

[4] Cf. Curtius, Griech. Etym., 5te Aufl., p. 145; Meyer, Griech. Gram., 3te Aufl., pp. 82, 173; Preller, Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl.,

if so there is some warrant for accepting him as a fire god. His constant association with cattle and shepherds in the various forms of the myth might otherwise lead one to venture the bold hypothesis that Cacus may have been a pastoral god.

It is evident, therefore, that the Virgilian version of the myth cannot antedate Virgil himself. It cannot be regarded, as is so often done, as the primitive form of the Hercules myth at Rome. Neither is it of any value in proving the contention brilliantly but inconclusively advanced by K. O. Müller,[1] and often revived, that the myth proves Hercules to be the god of light as opposed to Cacus the god of darkness. Virgil's myth is a poetic rendering of no primitive conflict between light and darkness but of the origin of the rites of the *ara maxima*. In his hands the myth has become frankly romantic.

Virgil's account, however, does not stand alone. This distinctive conception reappears in later versions of the myth. A professed following of Virgil is found in Augustine, *de Civitate Dei*, 19. 12. Augustine adds the inevitable moralization of a church father but his choice of words as well as his quotation of a Virgilian line stamp his direct use of Virgil as indisputable. The resemblances and references are indicated by italics:

Sed faciamus aliquem, qualem *canit poetica* et *fabulosa narratio*, quem fortasse propter ipsam insociabilem *feritatem semihominem* quam hominem dicere maluerunt. Quamvis ergo huius *regnum dirae speluncae* fuerit solitudo tamque malitia singularis, ut ex hac ei nomen inventum sit (Graece namque malus κακός dicitur, quod ille vocabatur), nulla coniux ei blan-

vol. 2, p. 287; Peter, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2273; Grassmann, Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachf., vol. 16 (1867), p. 176 f.; Bréal, ibid. vol. 10 (1861), p. 319 f.; Meyer, Griech. Etym., vol. 2, p. 297.

[1] Die Dorier, vol. 2, pp. 463-482.

dum ferret referretque sermonem, nullis filiis vel adluderet parvulis vel grandiusculis imperaret, nullo amici conloquio frueretur, nec *Vulcani patris*, quo vel hinc tantum non parum felicior fuit, quia *tale monstrum* ipse non genuit; nihil cuiquam daret, sed a quo posset quidquid vellet et quando posset et cum vellet auferret: tamen in *ipsa sua spelunca* solitaria, cuius, ut describitur, '*semper recenti caede tepebat humus*,' nihil aliud quam pacem volebat, in qua nemo illi molestus esset, nec eius quietem vis ullius terrorve turbaret . . . . Aut si eius *corporis forma et atrorum ignium vomitus* ab eo deterrebat hominum societatem, forte non nocendi cupiditate, sed vivendi necessitate saeviebat. Verum iste non fuerit vel, quod magis credendum est, non talis fuerit, qualis *poetica vanitate describitur;* nisi enim nimis accusaretur *Cacus*, parum *Hercules* laudaretur. Talis ergo homo sive *semihomo* melius, ut dixi, creditur non fuisse, sicut *multa figmenta poetarum.*

Fulgentius follows Augustine:

Cacus enim Herculis boves furatus esse dicitur, quos cauda in spelunca tractos abscondit, quem Hercules presso gutture interfecit. *κακόν* enim Graece, malum dicimus. (Fulg. Myth., 2, de Caco.)

Albericus presents in more verbose form the same matter as the foregoing, colored by a distinct reminiscence of Livy:

Erat in Italia quidam latro, nomine Cacus, qui dum Hercules ad Italiam devenisset et ab Euandro rege officiose receptus esset, bobus advectis ex Hispania, Geryone perempto, dum Hercules boves in pascuis custodiret, et somno oppressus dormiret, Cacus eo dormiente securus exiens de spelunca, in qua latebat, plures ex bobus rapuit: quos per caudam aversos capite traxit, ne ex rectis eorum vestigiis humo pressis, quo ducti essent, deprehendi posset; quin potius illos abisse videretur. Verum excitatus Hercules, et furto comperto, vestigia versa decernens, eaque insecutus ad antrum pervenit, et Cacum suis cum bobus latitantem reperit: quem fumum et nebulam eructantem clava peremit, bovesque redemit. Moraliter autem, Cacus malus interpretatur: qui latet in spelunca, quia numquam malitia liberae frontis est. (Albericus, de Deorum Imag., de Herc. 22.)

From these moralistic accounts of the mythographers, let us turn back to the presentation of Propertius. For to the old outlines of the myth has been added a touch of humor that makes the whole seem new. Propertius, 4. 9, has combined the Hercules-Cacus myth with the longer story of the celebration of the rites of Bona Dea. But the lines of cleavage are clearly visible. The close relationship of the earlier portion of his narrative to that of Virgil is indicated by the parallels shown on p. 242 ff.

There can be no doubt that Propertius was familiar with the eighth book of the Aeneid.[1] The influence of Virgil is unmistakable. But equally unmistakable are the reminiscences of Livy. *Incola Cacus* is like Livy's *accola Cacus,* and *aversos cauda traxit in antra boves* resembles not only Virgil but also Livy's *aversos bovis . . . . caudis in speluncam traxit.* But there are also elements peculiar to Propertius. The mention of Cacus is not to be compared with Diodorus, for in Diodorus Cacus takes the place of the *Potitii. Stabulis, O Erythea tuis* is a reference to 3. 22, 9; *pecorosa Palatia* recalls 3. 9, 49; *Velabra quaque nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas* is like Tibullus 2. 5, 33 *at qua Velabri regio patet, ire solebat exiguus pulsa per vada linter aqua,* cf. Aeneid, 8. 360, 361.[2] But it is unnecessary, even if it were possible, to trace in detail the various influences to which Propertius may have been subject: they were doubtless many but they have no bearing upon

[1] Cf. Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 2. 1, 2te Aufl., p. 49; Reisch, Properz Studien, Wiener Studien, vol. 9 (1887), p. 141. Rothstein doubts the influence of Virgil, Properz und Virgil, Hermes, vol. 24 (1889), p. 30; but cf. his commentary on the poem, in Die Elegien des Propertius, Berlin, 1898; cf. Propert. 2. 34, 63, 64.

[2] On the relationship of Propertius and Tibullus cf. Marx, de Propertii Vita et Lib. Ordine Temp., Leipzig, 1884, p. 41.

the outlines of the myth, which in its first part is Virgilian and annalistic.

In the second and longer portion of Propertius's myth no use is made of Virgil. This part relates the celebration of the festival of Bona Dea by her votaries. The connection between this portion of the narrative and the Cacus incident is effected by the exceeding thirst Hercules suffers after slaying Cacus. In seeking water he comes unawares upon the rites forbidden to men. In this blending of two diverse myths Propertius stands alone. The contention of Tuerk[1] that this second portion is from Varro is certainly correct. While Tuerk is predisposed to regard Varro as the prime source for all the myths of Propertius[2] there can be no doubt of the relationship here. But the relationship naturally regards content rather than form. For Macrobius,[3] giving Varro's opinion, says:

Haec apud Graecos ἡ θεὸς γυναικεία dicitur, quam Varro Fauni filiam tradit adeo pudicam, ut extra γυναικωνῖτιν numquam sit egressa, nec nomen eius in publico fuerit auditum nec virum umquam viderit vel a viro visa sit, propter quod nec vir templum eius ingreditur. unde et mulieres in Italia sacro Herculis non licet interesse, quod Herculi, cum boves Geryonis per agros Italiae duceret, sitienti respondit mulier aquam se non posse praestare, quod feminarum deae celebraretur dies, nec ex eo apparatu viris gustare fas esset. propter quod Hercules facturus sacrum detestatus est praesentiam feminarum, et Potitio ac Pinario sacrorum custodibus iussit ne mulierem interesse permitterent.

This notice citing Varro, in so marked agreement with Propertius, is from Cornelius Labeo mentioned by Macro-

[1] De Propert. carm. auct., Halle, 1885, pp. 40, 41.

[2] The myth of Vertumnus, e. g. 4. 2 (Tuerk, op. cit., p. 24), is not from Varro L. L. 5. 46; cf. Agahd, Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., Sup., vol. 24 (1898), p. 135; Schenkl, Deutsche Litteraturzeit., vol. 7 (1886), p. 186..

[3] 1. 12, 27, 28.

bius 1. 12, 21, who forms one of Macrobius's chief sources.[1] This direct reference to Varro[2] is proof enough so far as our point is concerned. It is confirmed, however, by other writers[3] who also cite Varro as shown by Litt.[4] Further evidence of the relationship between Varro and Propertius is not necessary. If it were one could compare vss. 73, 74 with Varro L. L. 5. 66 and Festus 229 M.= 284 P.

The view of Tuerk[5] that Propertius imitated Tibullus in the last of the poem, based on a comparison of P. 26 with T. 1. 6, 22; P. 38, T. 1. 6, 31; P. 53, T. 1. 2, 33, is not warranted by the parallels. The similarities are extremely slight, only one being really pertinent, namely

Prop. 38: ille ego sum, Alciden terra recepta vocat.
Tib. 1. 6, 31: ille ego sum, nec me iam dicere vera pudebit.

and *ille ego sum* must have been fairly common Latin. Tuerk furthermore[6] affirms the debt of Propertius to Callimachus from a comparison of vss. 57, 58 with Callimachus's Hymn to Pallas 101, 102. It is barely possible that Propertius had in mind the punishment of "peeping Tom" but the spirit and content of the two poems are

[1] Wissowa, de Macr. font. diss., Breslau, 1880, p. 42; über die röm. Penaten, Hermes, vol. 22 (1887), p. 35; Teuffel-Schwabe-Warr, Rom. Lit., vol. 2, p. 435; Agahd, Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., Sup., vol. 24 (1898), p. 115; Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 3, 2te Aufl., p. 191.

[2] Wessner, Berl. Phil. Woch., 1905, p. 574; Kahl, Corn. Labeo, Philologus, Sup., vol. 5 (1889), pp. 728, 763.

[3] Lact. Div. Inst., 1. 22, 10; cf. Plut. Q. R. 20. On the relationship of Plutarch to Varro cf. Christ, Griech. Litt., 4te Aufl., p. 681, n. 3; Agahd, Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., Sup. vol. 24 (1898), p. 135; Wissowa, de Macr. font., p. 42; Litt, Ueber eine Quelle von Plutarchs Aetia Romana, Rhein. Mus., vol. 59 (1904), p. 607 ff.

[4] Rhein. Mus., vol. 59 (1904), pp. 608, 609.

[5] De Propert. carm. auct., p. 42.

[6] De Propert. carm. auct., p. 42.

too unlike to render the assertion of intimate relationship credible.

Another poet to treat the myth in aetiological elegiac[1] is Ovid, Fasti 1. 543-586. No new features are presented. Unlike Propertius Ovid presents a single myth only, if indeed the Hercules-Cacus myth with Evander as tritagonist can be called a single myth. It will be seen that, like Livy, Ovid places the time of his myth in the morning—the only writers, by the way, who are concerned with the time element. Yet it is a natural feature in the narrative of each, for Ovid, it must be remembered, is writing a calendar, poetically adorned it is true, but a calendar still, and Livy is chiefly concerned with the priestly ritual and sacrifice. This feature may indicate in part an ultimate common source earlier than the later annalists. Ovid, however, did not consult sources earlier than the later annalists for his narrative.[2] Whatever may be his debt in the Fasti to a calendar of Verrius Flaccus, as maintained by Litt,[3] or to Verrius's Fasti Praenest., used as a sole source, as held by Winther,[4] or to Varro,[5] it is evident that the poet's chief source here was Virgil's graphic account of the same myth.[6] The influence of

[1] Cf. Rohde, der griech. Roman, 2te Aufl., p. 134 ff.

[2] Peter, Ovid, ed. 1879, p. 16.

[3] De Verrii Flacci et Corn. Labeonis fastorum libris, Bonn, 1904; cf. Berl. Phil. Woch., 1905, pp. 571-574.

[4] De Fast. Verr. Flac. ab Ov. adhib., Berlin, 1885; Jahresb. ü. d. Fortschr., d. cl. Alter., vol. 43 (1885), pp. 168-173.

[5] Huelsen, Varronianae doctrinae in Ov. Fast. vest. diss., Berlin, 1880.

[6] Merkel's statement that Ovid took the myth of Hercules from Ennius is not borne out by an examination of either Ennius or Ovid. Merkel, Fasti, Berlin, 1841, p. lxxxii; Vahlen, Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae, Leipzig, 1903, pp. lx, lxi.

Propertius is also manifest, however, as is the acquaintance with Livy. The predominating influence of Virgil can best be seen from the comparison of Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid in the following table. The influence of Livy and the annalists is less extensive but no less marked in places.

Livy.	Virg.	Prop.	Ovid.
ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum fessum via procubuisse.		et statuit fessos, fessus et ipse, boves.	
	Amphitryoniades ... stabulis.	Amphitryoniades quatempestate iuvencos egerat a stabulis, O Erythea tuis.	Ecce boves illuc Erytheidas applicat heros.
pastor accola eius loci nomine Cacus, ferox viribus.	.... raptor saxo occultabat opaco.	Incola Cacus erat, metuendo raptor ab antro.	....feros; Cacus, Aventinae timor.
	hic spelunca fuit, vasto summota recessu, semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat, solis inaccessum radiis.		proque domo longis spelunca recessibus ingens, abdita, vix ipsis invenienda feris .. dira viro facies, vires pro corpore, corpus grande.
	semperque recenti caede tepebat humus, foribus adfixa superbis ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.		ora super postes adfixaque bracchia pendent, squalidaque humanis ossibus albet humus.

Livy.	Virg.	Prop.	Ovid.
	huic monstro Volcanus erat pater.		pater monstri Mulciber huius erat.
	illius atros ore vomens ignis magna se mole ferebat.	per tria partitos qui dabat ore sonos (focos MSS. variant).	
	vallemque boves amnemque tenebant.		vagantur incustoditae lata per arva boves.
aversos boves ....caudis in speluncam traxit.	atque hos, nequa forent pedibus vestigia rectis, cauda in speluncam tractos versisque viarum indiciis raptor saxo occultabat opaco.	ne certa forentmanifestae signa rapinae, aversos cauda traxit in antra boves.	traxerat aversos Cacus in antra feros.
Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrassetoculiset partem abesse numero sensisset.			mane erat: excussus somno Tirynthius actor de numero tauros sentit abesse duos.
ipsa vestigia quaerentem.	quaerenti nulla ad speluncam signa ferebant.		nulla videt quaerens taciti vestigia furti.
confusus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere....occepit.	ecce furens animis aderat Tirynthius omnemque accessum lustrans huc ora ferebat et illuc, dentibus infrendens.		

Livy.	Virg.	Prop.	Ovid.
infesto agere porro armentum occepit.	cum iam stabulis saturata moveret Amphitryoniades armenta abitumque pararet, discessu mugire boves.	Amphitryoniades egerat a stabulis.	Iove natus abibat.
reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox.	reddidit una boum vastoque sub antro mugiit et Caci spem custodita fefellit.	furem sonuere iuvenci.	....mugitum rauco furta dedere sono.
	rapit arma manu nodisque gravatum robur.	Maenalio iacuit pulsus tria tempora ramo.	adductaque clava trinodis.
	hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro felle dolor.	furis et implacidás diruit via fores.	
	speluncamque petit.		victor ad antra venit.
	ut sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis.		ille aditum fracti praestruxerat obice montis, vix iuga movissent quinque bis illud opus.
		ille humeris postes concussit opacos.... tergo qui sustulit orbem.	nititur hic umeris (caelum quoque sederat illis).

Livy.	Virg.	Prop.	Ovid.
	ter totum fervidus ira lustrat Aventini montem, ter saxea temptat limina nequiquam, ter fessus valle resedit.	pandite defessis hospita fana viris....haec fesso vix mihi terra patet.	occupat Alcides, adductaque clava trinodis ter quater adversi sedit in ore viri.
	stabat acuta silex praecisis undique saxis speluncae dorso insurgens, altissima visu, dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum.	populus et longis ornabat frondibus aedem, multaque cantantes umbra tegebat aves.	
	dexter in adversum nitens concussit et imis avolsam solvit radicibus; inde repente impulit, impulsu quo maximus intonat aether, dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis.		nititur hic umeris....et vastum motu conlabefactat onus. quod simul eversum est, fragor aethera terruit ipsum, iactaque subsedit pondere molis humus.
	telis premit omniaque arma advocat et ramis vastisque molaribus instat. ille		prima movet Cacus collata proelia dextra, remque ferox saxis stipitibusque gerit.

Livy.	Virg.	Prop.	Ovid.
	autem (neque enim fuga iam super ulla pericli) faucibus ingentem fumum .... evomit.		quis ubi nil agitur, patrias male fortis ad artes confugit, et flammas ore sonante vomit. [Cf. F. 6, 80.]
	hic Cacum in tenebris incendia vana vomentem corripit....et angit inhaerens elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur.		ille cadit, mixtosque vomit cum sanguine fumos. [Cf. F. 6, 81.]
	hanc aram luco statuit quae maxuma semper dicetur.	ara per has, inquit, maxima facta manus.	constituitque sibi, quae maxima dicitur, aram.
	Salve, vera Iovis proles, decus addite divis, et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo.	Sancte pater, salve, cui iam favet aspera Iuno, Sancte, velis libro dexter inesse meo.	
	ite domum pasti, si quis pudor, ite iuvenci. [Ecl. 7, 44.]	ite boves, Herculis ite boves.	
	passimque armenta videbant, Romanoque foro et lautis mugire carinis.	qua Velabra suo stagnabant flumine quaque nauta per urbanas velificabat aquas.	Ille meas remis advena torsit aquas, venit et Alcides. [F. 5, 644.]

Livy.	Virg.	Prop.	Ovid.
Is tum Euander, concursu pastorum trepidantium.... te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit....ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi ....factum.			Immolat ex illis taurum tibi, Iuppiter, unum victor et Euandrum ruricolasque vocat ...nec tacet Euandri mater, prope tempus adesse Hercule quo tellus sit satis usa suo. at felix vates, ut dis gratissima vixit, possidet hunc Iani sic dea mense diem.

The table calls for a word of comment. Only the more direct parallelisms are indicated. Livy and Propertius agree in the representation of Hercules pasturing his cattle, both tired, *fessus, fessos.* Virgil calls him *Amphitryoniades,* and in mentioning the driving away of the cattle uses the word *stabulis,* characteristics followed by both Propertius and Ovid. Propertius and Ovid agree in the mention of *Erythea,* Ovid following Propertius. Livy speaks of Cacus as *pastor accola,* and Propertius, following him, as *incola Cacus.* Virgil speaks of Cacus as a *raptor* living in a dense cavern; Propertius follows exactly. In the description of Cacus's cave Ovid follows Virgil literally, even to the point of quotation. Ovid's characterization of Cacus's father is manifestly taken over bodily from Virgil. In the mention of the theft and the ruse of Cacus to conceal it, it will be seen that Virgil has borrowed both from the Homeric Hymn to Hermes[1] and from Livy's sources. This

[1] Cf. p. 229 f.

is a feature found in all the poets. Propertius, while in general like Livy, still follows Virgil, as does also Martial, 5. 65, 6, and Ovid follows Propertius. Livy and Ovid agree in the time of the myth,[1] wherein Ovid follows Livy closely. Virgil follows Livy's annalistic sources in the representation of Hercules seeking his stolen cattle, while Ovid follows Virgil. In the preparation for departure Virgil follows Livy loosely, is followed closely by Propertius who in turn is followed literally by Ovid. Ovid's description of Hercules's club is directly from Virgil. Hercules's anger is common to Virgil and Propertius. The device of Cacus's use of a huge rock to bar the entrance of his cave is followed by Ovid. Hercules's method of breaking in by use of his shoulders whereon the world had once rested is a feature of Propertius followed to a point of quotation by Ovid. Propertius doubtless took the suggestion from Aeschylus, Prom., 350, who in turn derives the entire scene from Pindar P. 1. 21 ff.[2] Virgil's characterization of the futile preliminary attacks of Hercules is followed loosely by Propertius, closely by Ovid. Virgil's description of the towering cliff, the home of dread birds, finds its direct imitation in the more peaceful narrative of Propertius in the tall poplar, sacred to Hercules,[3] the home of singing birds. Hercules's method of loosening the cliff and the dread sound it caused when hurled is imitated by Ovid—in both cases the mythical rock makes a mythical crash that shatters the very heaven with its din. The use of branches and stones in the combat of Virgil is followed by Ovid, and the resort to flames by Cacus is borrowed by Ovid from Virgil. Ovid's mention of Typhoeus breathing up flames of lurid fire through Aetna, which at first seems an addition of his own, is in

[1] Cf. p. 241. [2] Cf. p. 231, n. 5. [3] Virg. Aen., 8. 276.

reality simply an explicit following out of Virgil's treatment[1] and is proof of Ovid's indebtedness. The closeness of the resemblance of Propertius at this point depends on the reading of *sonos* or *focos; focos* would be Virgilian, *sonos,* Hesiodic. Cacus's breathing forth fire and blood in Ovid is a manner of death following Virgil. The death blow by means of a club, *clava,* in Livy is reproduced in Propertius, who in writing *tria tempora* was doubtless influenced by Virgil's description of Geryon as *tergeminus,* an adjective derived from Aeschylus's τρισώματος Γηρυών.[2] The institution of the *ara maxima* in Virgil is followed loosely by Propertius, is quoted by Ovid. The assembly and sacrifice in Livy are used by Ovid. The closing lines of Virgil are echoed in the closing lines of Propertius.

That Ovid's account finds its source in Virgil cannot be doubted. The parallels are so many and so close that an inference as to any other chief source is incredible. In addition to Virgil the unmistakable resemblances to Livy in form and content prove that both Livy and his sources were in Ovid's mind. Propertius's indebtedness to Virgil is likewise certain but less marked. In the consideration of Propertius, however, it must be remembered that he is in reality telling the myth of Bona Dea and that the Hercules-Cacus myth is merely an introduction to it. It is clear that for the development of the Hercules myth it must be granted that Virgil is followed by Propertius and by Ovid

[1] Cf. p. 233.

[2] Agam., 870. He is τρισώματος by implication in Stesichorus, Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Gr., vol. 3, p. 976, fr. 6; cf. Lucr. 5. 28, *tripectora tergemini vis Geryonai;* Virg. Aen., 6. 289; Hor. O. 2. 14, 8; Sil. Ital. 1. 277.

and that in all there are traces of the later annalistic accounts, more distinct in Propertius than in Virgil, but most distinct in Ovid.

The relationship of the various accounts as determined in this paper is indicated in the following table.

CHAPTER III

THE ORIGINAL FORM OF THE MYTH

I have attempted to show that the various accounts of the Hercules-Cacus myth stand in peculiar relationship to one another, and furthermore that these various and varying accounts may be grouped in more or less coherent fashion with definite traces of kinship. Certain accounts are manifestly derived from other accounts. These accounts of known derivation may therefore be eliminated from consideration in determining the possible original content of the myth at Rome. There will be left to consider, then, the versions of Livy 1. 7 and 9. 29; Dionysius 1. 41-43; Strabo 5. 3, 3; Origo 6, 8; Diodorus 4. 21; Virgil, Aeneid, 8. 184 ff. They may be taken in the following order: (1) Virgil, (2) Origo, (3) Dionysius, (4) Livy, (5) Strabo, (6) Diodorus.

(1) The content and form of Virgil's myth have been discussed above, p. 228 ff. Its relation to Homer, Hesiod, the annalists, and later writers was indicated. No similar version in Latin existed before Virgil, and his method of treatment cannot have antedated Virgil himself.[1] For the version is a species of *contaminatio*. Is Virgil's myth, then, the primitive form of the myth in Italy? The answer must be negative. If it were primitive it is reasonable to suppose that some hint or trace of a similar treatment must have existed in earlier accounts. No such trace occurs and the implicit testimony of Macrobius is opposed

[1] Cf. p. 236.

to it. It can be regarded as primitive only if one supposes that Virgil is giving for the first time in literary form the substance of popular legend and oral tradition. While it is well known that Virgil was a diligent student of such legends,[1] there is no evidence that popular legend told of a combat of darkness and fire and smoke. Again, it can be regarded as primitive only on the theory that the Hercules of Virgil represents a god of light as opposed to Cacus the god of darkness, and that the conflict is thus a poetic rendering of a nature myth, the conflict of light and darkness.[2] Recent research has shown that Herakles (Hercules), however, is not a god of light and asserts most emphatically the essentially Hellenic character and origin of Herakles.[3] He is a god of healing, as Gruppe has shown.[4] Virgil's myth, aside from a reminiscence in the figure of Cacus, perhaps, contains nothing of a prim-

[1] Cf. p. 228 and n. 2.

[2] Cf. K. O. Mueller, die Dorier, vol. 2, pp. 463-482; Schwegler, Röm. Geschichte, vol. 1, p. 371; Kuhn, Zeitschr. f. deutsch. Alter., vol. 6 (1848), p. 128; Bréal, Hercule et Cacus, p. 79 ff.; Fr. Spiegel, Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprachf., vol. 13 (1864), p. 386 ff.; Robert, Hermes, vol. 19 (1884), p. 482 ff.; Schwenk, Rhein. Mus., vol. 20 (1865), p. 458; ibid. vol. 22 (1867), p. 129 ff.; Fiske, Myths and Mythmakers, p. 119; Hager, Gesch. Entwickelung d. Heraklesmythos, p. 20; Harrison, Class. Rev., vol. 7 (1893), pp. 74-78, and the refutation by Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, vol. 1, pp. 199-201; Mannhardt, Wald u. Feldkulte, vol. 2, p. 111; and the refutation of the Izdubar theory by E. Meyer, Geschichte d. Altertum, p. 185 ff.

[3] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 1 ff.; Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, pp. 450-501; Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2135 ff.; P. Friedländer, Herakles, Berlin, 1907; Block, Jahresb. ü. d. Fortschr. d. kl. Alter., vol. 124 (1905), p. 441; Beloch, Rhein. Mus., vol. 49 (1894), pp. 126, 127.

[4] Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, p. 453.

itive character.[1] Hercules is, after all, the stereotyped Herakles of Greek mythology, of more than mortal strength, engaged always in conflict with some grim opponent.[2] It is the opponent that is as characteristic a feature of Herakles as is his strength, and the opponent is always worsted. Here the opponent is Cacus,[3] an old Roman divinity of unknown attributes but possibly a primitive fire god whose precise nature had been long since forgotten, whom Virgil recreated and endowed with the power and personality of Typhoeus. And thereby he won for his episode largeness of outline and yet exactness of detail that make it one of the best in his poems, comparable to a picture, strong in its drawing and brilliant in its coloring.

(2) The literary form of the myth in the *Origo* 6, 8 was discussed above, p. 204 ff. It was there assigned to Verrius Flaccus. This form of the myth was regarded by Reifferscheid,[4] followed by Peter,[5] *de Hercule et Iunone diis Italorum coniugalibus,* as the primitive form. In support of his theory he urged that *Garanus* revealed Hercules under a primitive and predominant aspect, namely that of the *genius* of men, as Juno was that of women.

The most noticeable characteristic of the version is its ethical philology. Hercules or *Recaranus* = *Garanus,* as has been said,[6] is *quidam Graecae originis, ingentis corporis et magnarum virium pastor.* Cacus is *Euandri servus, nequitiae versutus et praeter cetera furacissimus.* Evander

[1] Cf. Wissowa, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encycl., vol. 3, p. 1168.

[2] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 33 ff.; Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, p. 450 ff.; P. Friedländer, Herakles, p. 147.

[3] Cf. pp. 225, 233 ff.

[4] Annali d. Inst., vol. 39 (1867), pp. 352-362.

[5] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2259 ff.; Aust, Religion d. Römer, p. 146 ff.; cf. above, p. 178 ff.

[6] Cf. p. 204 ff.

is *excellentissimae iustitiae vir.* It can only be a late stage of the myth that converted Cācus into Κακός[1] and then through a rationalizing inference into a slave of the man who is good = Evander. If mythology can ever be said to be 'a disease of language'[2] this version may be said to be positively moribund. And the form *Garanus,* also, is doubtless a philological variant, probably from Greek sources. The source given for this form is stated by the *Origo* 7 as *Cassius lib.* 1.[3] The author of the *Origo,* however, derived it from Verrius Flaccus.[4] Whether or not Flaccus drew it from Cassius depends on the credibility of the *Origo's* citations. They have been generally mistrusted,[5] and in this case the notice of Pseudo-Servius *in Aen.,* 8. 203 is against its credibility: *sane de Caco interempto ab Hercule tam Graeci quam Romani consentiunt, solus Verrius Flaccus dicit Garanum fuisse pastorem magnarum virium, qui Cacum adflixit, omnes autem magnarum virium apud veteres Hercules dictos.* The passage as such bears every mark of antiquarian refinement.[6] But even granting the genuineness of the citation, which would then throw the creation of *Garanus* from Flaccus to the shadowy Cassius, there can be little doubt that the name was found not in any early account of the Hercules myth, but in either Greek art or Greek literature. *Garanus* may be a Latinized corruption of Geryones or Garyoneus.[7] Or it may be due,

[1] Cf. p. 205.

[2] Max Müller, Contributions to the Science of Mythology, vol. 1, p. 38.

[3] Cf. p. 207. [4] Cf. p. 206 f.

[5] Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 4. 1, p. 61.

[6] Cf. p. 205.

[7] Cf. Schwenk, in Hillen, de Herc. Rom. fab., p. 40. The form Γαρυϝόνης, as a matter of fact, appears on a Chalcidian vase. C. I. G. 7582, Kretschmer, Griech. Vaseninschriften, p. 47.

with more probability, to the Greek myth[1] wherein Κάρανος, as Jordan points out,[2] was the son of the Argive Pheidon, a Herakleid, who was one of a Greek band to take Edessa and found the Macedonian dynasty. And since the Argei were accompanied thither by the Argive comrades of Herakles it is highly probable that this Herakleid myth proved the source of Verrius Flaccus's aberrant form *Garanus*.

Following Preller,[3] who called the Garanus version "eine keineswegs zu verachtende Tradition" and explained the word *Garanus* = *Kerus* = the Oscan *Keriivi* which appears as an epithet applied to *Hereklui* (Hercules),[4] Reifferscheid found in the Garanus variant prime support for his theory that Hercules is *genius,* the *genius* of men. The account in the *Origo* would thus represent the essence of the primitive myth. But *Kerus* and *Garanus* do not evidence identical bases; neither is *Kerus* the equivalent of *genius,* either etymologically or functionally. Garanus, Κάρανος (Καρα-), is merely a chief, a leader.[5] The Oscan adjective *Kerriios* is akin to *Cerus, Ceres, creare,*[6] and the fact that the same epithet is applied to Janus in the old

[1] Theopompus, F. H. G., vol. 1, p. 283, fr. 30; Justin. 7. 1, 7; Livy 45. 9, 3.

[2] Hermes, vol. 3 (1869), p. 408; Preller, Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 2, p. 283, n. 4. Peter refuses to admit the validity of Jordan's argument, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2272.

[3] Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 2, p. 283.

[4] Op. cit., vol. 1, p. 80; 2, p. 283; Jordan's note 4; Hermes, vol. 3 (1869), p. 409; Mommsen, Annali d. Inst., vol. 20 (1848), p. 424; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p. 228.

[5] Cf. Meyer, Griech. Etym., vol. 2, p. 350.

[6] Cf. Wissowa, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1, 1, p. 867. So among the Umbrians of Iguvium a *Martius Cerfus* is found: the word *cerfius* also recurs. Both this and the Paelignian *Cerfus*, Buecheler, Rhein. Mus., vol. 33 (1878), p. 281, Umbrica, p. 80, are connected with *cerus;* cf. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., pp. 158, 159.

Salian hymn[1] deprives the attribute of any special significance so far as Hercules is concerned. *Genius,* (γεν or γιν),[2] is not used as an epithet of Hercules or other divinities, although inscriptions *genio Iovis, genio Martis* and the like are common enough. No argument for the primitive nature of the Hercules myth can rest on the version of Flaccus, which is certainly a late and sophisticated variant.

In further support of this theory certain works of art have been cited by both Reifferscheid and Peter. These I have already noticed.[3] The attempt to use the myth of Verrius Flaccus to prove that Hercules = the *genius* of men seems misdirected. The assurance that it is primitive[4] can come only when one closes one's eyes to the widespread influence and significance of the Greek myth.[5] That he is not a home-spun Italic deity is proved by the name formation.[6] There doubtless was some Italic divinity or divinities whose attributes were engrafted upon the powerful Grecian god but this holds true of almost every Greek mythological character and merely means that the attributes of a god change with the passing of time and peoples.

[1] Varro, L. L. 7. 26; Festus, 122 M., C. I. L. I, 46.

[2] Censorin. de die nat., 3: *sive quod ut genamur curat, sive quod una gignitur nobiscum, sive etiam quod nos genitos suscepit ac tutatur, certe a genendo genius appellatur;* cf. Festus, Pon., p. 67; Varro ap. Aug. C. D. 7. 13, Agahd, Jahrb. f. cl. Phil., Sup., vol. 24 (1898), p. 208: *quid est Genius ? Deus, inquit, qui praepositus est ac vim habet omnium rerum gignendarum.*

[3] Cf. p. 178 ff.

[4] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2272 f.

[5] Cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, pp. 1-107; Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, pp. 450-501; Friedländer, Herakles, Berlin, 1907.

[6] Cf. p. 187, note 8.

There seems to me to be another objection to the view of Reifferscheid and Peter. It is this: the identification of Hercules with the *genius* of men would make Hercules part of Roman ancestor worship, or at least bring him into line with it; the worship of *genii* is inherent in ancestor worship.[1] The fact of ancestor worship among the Romans is a matter of common knowledge. The old Roman pride of family, the sanctity of custom, the strength of paternal authority, the persistence of family ties, the *lares* and *penates* all attest the fact, were attestation needed. The Roman lack of imagination is itself a proof, for among unimaginative peoples the worship of ancestors is strongest. But Hercules never appears in this light. From his first official recognition in Rome in the lectisternium of 399 B. C., and in the subsequent lectisternia, he is worshipped side by side with the gods of Greece. The significance of this fact requires more than Reifferscheid's array of art works to overthrow it. The god, like the mortal, is known from the company he keeps.

(3) The next version to be considered is that of Dionysius 1. 41-43, the 'truer account used by many historians' in preference to that of 1. 39, 40 = Livy 1. 7. According to this version[2] Hercules is the best general of his time and comes into Italy at the head of an armed force. He wages war with Cacus, who is also the leader of a host. Clearly this is a later version than that given by Livy 1. 7. No primitive myth could ever have had this form. But it illustrates one of the steps through which the myth-making consciousness seems to develop. For may not one regard myth-making as an attempt at expla-

[1] Cf. Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., pp. 154-159; Birt. Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, pp. 1613-1625; Hild, Daremberg et Saglio, s. v. Genius; Preller, Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 75 ff.

[2] Cf. p. 213 ff.

nation, after all, an attempt to find some sort of unity and primal reality in the spiritual realm, and so as a kind of metaphysics?[1] It is often a phantastic metaphysics, of course, but none the less real for that. For first come gods in the mythology of a people, then heroes, that is demi-gods,[2] then great men. The gods disappear as the reflective consciousness develops, because they are seen to be out of reach of men, and so out of touch with human things. But the heroes linger longer in legend and myth because they are half human and the mediation between human and divine is effected more easily through them. Nevertheless the heroes, too, pass away in their appointed time. That time comes when the god part has been reasoned away and the human residuum remains. With the last vestige of divinity gone, this human part soon assumes a fictitious, historical character. In Dionysius 1. 41-43 the divine element has completely disappeared and the human has become dressed in the attributes of fictitious history. One might then call this the historical stage.[3]

(4) Livy's account, 1. 7; 9. 29=Dionysius, 1. 39, 40, discussed above, is called a "jungere Fassung" by Wissowa.[4] But while the account is clearly aetiological it contains, I believe, the essential features of the Hercules myth as it must have been known to the Romans in the earliest times. Reduced to its outlines, Livy's version tells of a purely Greek god who comes to the Tiber side and institutes sacrifices at the *ara maxima*, initiating into the ritual the

[1] Cf. Aristotle, Metaphys., A. 2. 982. b. 11; διὸ καὶ ὁ φιλόμυθος φιλόσοφός πώς ἐστιν, ὁ γὰρ μῦθος σύγκειται ἐκ θαυμασίων · κ. τ. λ. Cf. Plato, Theat., 155 D.

[2] Serv., In Aen., 1. 196: *heros vir fortis, semideus, plus ab homine habens, ut ait Hesiodus.*

[3] Cf. p. 214.

[4] Relig. u. Kult., p. 229, 8.

Potitii and *Pinarii*. These sacrifices were known to differ from the usual Roman sacrifices in that they were said to be performed *Graeco ritu*. At this point the myth must have ended in its earliest form. A later generation sought a reason for the sacrifice and found it in the recovery of the cattle that were a familiar and indispensable feature of the Geryon myth. These cattle must have been stolen, and Cacus, originally a disparate deity, was given the rôle of the thief. The myth of Hercules and the myth of Cacus were thus originally two wholly distinct myths, fused by the Romans themselves in later times. Reduced to its outlines, the myth is properly annalistic in character and it was in the younger annalists, more particularly Tubero and Macer,[1] that Livy found his material. But there can be no doubt that the younger annalists simply expanded the account which they must certainly have found in their sources, namely the older annalists.

(5) It is precisely this form and content of the myth that is given in the account of Strabo 5. 3, 3 (p. 230),[2] which goes back to Acilius, the older annalist. In this brief version Cacus is not mentioned, while special attention is paid to the sacrifice which is called Greek. The *Potitii* and *Pinarii* do not appear. Hercules is the purely Greek Herakles and we reach a version that contains the essence of the versions of Livy and Dionysius, and that is considerably anterior to them. This I take to represent the oldest form of the Hercules myth at Rome, a purely Greek myth in origin, amplified and altered later by the admixture of the myth of Cacus. Further evidence for this view is found in the last version to be considered, that of Diodorus Siculus 4. 21.

(6) The myth presented by Diodorus has been discussed above, p. 222 ff. It was shown that in Diodorus's peculiar

[1] Cf. pp. 198, 200. [2] Cf. p. 215 ff.

version of the Hercules myth at Rome we reach for the myth a positive date considerably anterior to that pertaining to any literary form hitherto discussed. For the account of Diodorus can be assigned with certainty to Timaeus.[1] But it was pointed out that the entire presentation as given by Diodorus could not have come from Timaeus. Timaeus must have given attention to Hercules's descent through Italy and his institution of a sacrifice at Rome wherein the tithe offering and its injunction

[1] That Timaeus wrote on Italic and Sicilian affairs is stated by Suidas and is confirmed by the fragments (cf. Suidas s. v.; F. H. G., vol. 1, pp. 193-233; 4, p. 625 ff., which extend as far as a thirty-eighth book). This work covers a period extending from the earliest times till 264 B. C. according to Polybius 1. 5. The prominence given by Timaeus to myths can be seen from fragments 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16, 25, 37, 54, 66. It is this tendency that the sober Polybius considers one of Timaeus's chief faults, 12. 24, 5.

There is nothing to prove that another Sicilian, Stesichorus of Himera *circ.* 640-555 B. C. (cf. Christ, Griech. Litt., 5te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 200, n. 2), treated the myth of Hercules at Rome, although his Geryoneis contained features of significance for the development and spread of the Herakles myth; cf. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 25. This Geryoneis was itself doubtless a part of a complete cycle of poems dealing with Herakles. This Herakleid would thus comprise what of the fragments is known as the Geryoneis, the Cerberos, and the Cycnos (cf. Welcker, Kleine Schriften, vol. 1, p. 173). Welcker ascribed the dodekathlon to Peisandros (op. cit., p. 83; Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, vol. 1, p. 57, n. 101). Stesichorus represented H. as sailing to Erythea in a golden bowl (cf. Athen. 11. 470 C, and the red-figured bowl in Daremberg et Saglio, vol. 3. 1, p. 93). Christ, Griech. Litt., 4te Aufl., p. 164, thought that S.'s fragment shows Egyptian influence in that Ra, the Egyptian sun god, voyages in a skiff to heaven in the same way (cf. Herod. 2. 43; Paus. 7. 5, 5). This opinion is suppressed in the 5te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 202. Athenaeus, on the authority of Megakleides, also credits S. with

on those who desired a happy life played an important part.[1]

This practice is so much of an anomaly in Roman religion that various views have been suggested concerning its origin. Peter[2] derives the custom not from the conception of the Greek Herakles but from the idea of Sancus. Fowler suggests alternative views for the origin of the peculiar practice.[3] The practice of offering first fruits may have passed into that of offering tithes as the community changed from rural to city and commercial conditions; or the practice may be of Phoenician origin, an attribute of the Phoenician Melkarth, imported into Italy from Sicily.[4] Ernst Curtius[5] also regarded it as Semitic: 'The tithe was introduced into the west by the Phoenicians in particular. Therefore Italic myth attributes the tithe to the cult of the Tyrian Hercules, and it accords with the Phoenician conception that the promise of great riches is conditioned by the conscientious payment of the tithe.' Wissowa,[6] on the other hand, maintains that the practice is Greek and has its origin in commercial life.

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giving the hero the attributes of the lion's skin and the club which became inseparably attached to the myth henceforth (cf. Athen. 12. 512 F. = Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Graec., vol. 3, p. 990, fr. 57). But the lion's skin and club were introduced by Peisandros of Kameiros in the sixth century (cf. Strabo, 15, p. 688; Suidas, s. v. Peisandros; Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, pp. 2138, 2143; Robert, Bild u. Lied, p. 173; Festus, P. p. 249; Jebb, Philoctetes, v. 727).

[1] Cf. Diodor. 4. 21; Fowler, Rom. Fest., p. 196 f.

[2] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2256; cf. p. 2938; Schwegler, Röm. Gesch., vol. 1, p. 367.

[3] Cf. above, p. 188 f. Rom. Fest., p. 196 ff.

[4] Cf. W. R. Smith, Religion of the Semites, 2d ed., p. 246.

[5] Der Zehnte, Deutsche Rundschau, vol. 43 (1845), p. 192 ff.

[6] Relig. u. Kult., p. 225 f.

But it must be confessed that the origin of the tithing system is still enveloped in considerable darkness. W. R. Smith is of the opinion that the tithe was a fixed tribute. In an earlier stage this tribute took the form of first fruits, common the world over,[1] which was a private offering. When this proved inadequate to meet the expenses of a more elaborate cultus among Semitic peoples the tithe was charged as a fixed burden on land.[2] That it reached a very high state of development at an early stage in the life of the Semites in Israel in the period of the kingdoms, there can be no doubt.[3] The free-will offerings of E, as Moore points out,[4] become statutory in D. And the practice whereby men offered first fruits to Yahwe in sacrifice and thereby became Yahwe's guests in the sacrificial meal finds a close analogue in the decimal feasts of ten days in honor of Hercules.[5] On so large a scale were these offerings and the attendant feasts that the phrase *decumam pollucere* or *pollucere* came to signify a sumptuous repast.[6] Moore, how-

[1] Cf. Frazer, Golden Bough, 2d ed., vol. 2, p. 459 ff.

[2] Relig. of Sem., 2d ed., p. 245 ff.; cf. above, p. 189 and n. 2; Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings, p. 55.

[3] Cf. Ex. 34. 26; 22. 29; Am. 4. 4; Gen. 28. 22; Deut. 14. 22, etc.

[4] Encyclopedia Biblica, s. v. Tithes; cf. Taxation.

[5] Varro, Sat. M. fr. 413, Buecheler = Macr. 3. 12, 2: *maiores solitos decimam Herculi vovere nec decem dies intermittere, quin pollucerent ac populum ἀσύμβολον cum corona laurea dimitterent cubitum.*

[6] Fest. p. 253(M); Serv., in Aen., 8. 269; Plaut. Rudens, 1418; Marquardt, Staatsverw., 2te Aufl., vol. 3, p. 149. It is probably from this source that the adjective *decumanus* came to be used of things large. Cf. Paul. Exc., p. 50 (P); Lucan, Phar., 5. 672; Sen. Agam., 523; Cic. de Off., 2. 17. At times the offering was very small, or there could have been no point to Tertullian's taunt: *nolo et ritus vestros recensere; non dico quales sitis in sacrificando, cum enecta et tabidosa et scabiosa*

ever, regards the tithe as more or less universal in origin and cites the articles δεκάτη (Koch) and *decima* (Liebenam) in Pauly-Wissowa's Real-Encyclopädie[1] for the Greeks and Romans. Koch has shown that the tithe was common enough among the Greeks (1) as a tax on the yield of a piece of land, payable to the owner, whether the latter be a private citizen, a sanctuary, or the state itself; (2) as the dedication of the spoils of war or other gain by the state or individuals to the divinities in recognition of their real ownership; (3) as a levy in the sense of toll-money or impost duty. But none of the references proves that the practice may not have been ultimately derived from the Semites. Especially significant in this connection is the statement of Aristotle (?)[2]: *νόμου ὄντος ἐν Βαβυλωνίᾳ παλαιοῦ δεκάτην εἶναι τῶν εἰσαγομένων.* Koch's list of dedicatory offerings has been vastly increased by Rouse,[3] and still more examples can easily be found, if more were needed. But it is noteworthy that only very rarely is Herakles the recipient.[4] If, then, as Wissowa believes, the tithes given to Hercules were derived from Greek custom one should expect to find tithes commonly given to Herakles. But this is not the case.[5] Again, if they were an original de-

quaeque mactatis; cum de opimis et integris supervacua quaeque truncatis capitula et ungulas, quae domi quoque pueris vel anibus destinassetis; cum de decima Herculis nec tertiam partem in aram eius imponitis. Apol., adv. Gent., 14. Cicero would call it foolish to give even the *enecta et scabiosa quaeque*, if we may believe his *neque Herculi quisquam decumam vovit umquam, si sapiens factus esset.* De Nat. Deor., 3. 36, 88.

[1] Vol. 4, pp. 2423 f., 2306. [2] Oecon., 2. 35.

[3] Greek Votive Offerings, Cambridge, 1902, pp. 39-94.

[4] E. g. I. G. XII, 3, 431.

[5] They are commonly given to Athena, I. G. XIV, 664, 2274; I. G. I. (C. I. A. I) 32, 334, 403; I. G. II (C. I. A. II), 1422; C. I. G. II, 2660; to Apollo, I. G. XII, 3. 257, 258; I. G. II (C. I.

velopment in Italy as elsewhere, as Peter believes, one should expect to find them given to other deities besides Hercules,[1] who was not the national god of Italy. But this again is not the case. It would seem, therefore, that Fowler's second suggestion furnishes the only satisfactory solution regarding the origin of the practice in the Roman cult. It is altogether possible that the Semitic institution of offering tithes to Melkarth,[2] the Lord of the City,[3] with whom the Greeks later sometimes identified their Herakles,[4]

A. II), 1154; C. I. G. II, 2265, 2481 d; III, 5133, 5362 b; to Artemis, I. G. IV, 977; I. G. I (C. I. A. I), 210; C. I. G. I, 1172; II, 1926.

[1] Tithes to Hercules are well attested by inscriptions, cf. C. I. L. I, 542 = IX, 4672, cf. C. I. L. I, 541; I, 1113, 1290 = IX, 3569 (old); VI, 331; I, 541; IX, 4071 a, 4787, 6153, 6348; X, 3956; XIV, 284, probably false; 2891-2893; V, 1579(?); I. G. XIV, 600, 652. Literary references abound, the most interesting being the story of Octavius Herrenus found in Macrobius 3. 6, 10-14 = Pseudo-Servius, in Aen., 8. 363; Diodor. 4. 21; Dionys. 1. 39, 4; 40, 4; 40. 2; Festus, p. 300(P) = 237(M); Origo, 6; Plaut. Stich., 233, 386; Truc., 562; Bacch., 665; Naevius, Colax 1 (Ribbeck 27, p. 12); Plut. Sull., 35, 1; Crass. 2, 2; Mar. 12; Plut. Q. R. 18; Cic. de Nat. Deor., 3. 36, 88; Tertull. Apol. adv. Gent., 14; Just. 18. 7.

[2] From the foundation of the city, says Diodorus 20. 14, 2, the Carthaginians sent the tithe of their produce to the Tyrian Hercules; cf. Polyb. 31. 20; Justin. 18. 7; Curt. 4. 2, 2; 4. 2, 10; Pietschmann, Geschichte d. Phoenicier, p. 288.

[3] Pietschmann, Geschichte d. Phoen., p. 184.

[4] Cf. the bilingual votive inscription in Greek and Phoenician from Malta, C. I. G. 5753 = C. I. Sem. I, 122; C. I. S. I, 88; C. I. G. 2271, 6806 = C. I. L. VII, p. 97; cf. C. H. Moore, Harv. Stud., vol. 11 (1900), p. 48, 49; Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris, pp. 11, 12. Literary references showing the supposed identification abound, cf. Diodor. 20. 14, 14; Herod. 2. 44; Paus. 5. 25, 12; 10. 13, 8. Paus. is merely a reminiscence of Herod., cf. Wernicke, *de Paus. perieg. stud. Herod.*, p. 69. Herodotus's mention of the Phoenician origin of the Thasian Herakles cult is prob-

was engrafted upon Hercules in the transition period of perhaps the sixth century when the Latins were receiving the Greek Herakles, possibly through the medium of Phoenician traders. I cannot believe that Herakles, and so by implication, Hercules, was anything but a purely Greek god, but the foregoing supposition, which cannot admit of rigid proof in the light of present knowledge, may account for the anomalous practice in the Roman cult.

Diodorus's version, stripped of its manifest accretions, can be reduced to the outlines of the myth presented by Livy,[1] Strabo,[2] and the second half of the version of Solinus[3] accredited to the annalist Gellius. It is to these accounts, I believe, that one must go for the myth of Hercules as that myth was known to the earlier Romans. It is significant that the same kernel of the myth should be

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ably a false inference from the fact that there was a sanctuary of Herakles Θάσιος in Tyre. But this, like the Apollo Milesios in Naucratis, was evidently merely the Greek Herakles of the Thasians who had commercial relations with the Tyrians. Had Herodotus been able to prove the existence of a Herakles Tyrios in Thasos, i. e. to reverse the position, his statement would be more worthy of credence (cf. Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2142; further, Strabo, 16. 2, 23; Lucian, de dea Syr. 3; Arrian, Ex. Alex. 2. 16; Paus. 9. 27, 8; Apion, F. H. G. vol. 3, p. 511, 8; Tac. Ann., 12. 13; Cic. de Nat. Deor., 3. 16, 42. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Herakles, 2te Aufl., vol. 1, p. 26: "die leute die so reden kennen freilich Herakles und die griechische geschichte meistens nur als reminiscenz von der schulbank." (Cf. p. 27; Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, p. 499, n. 1.) The attempt to find the Hellenic Herakles in a Semitic Melkarth (Movers, Die Phoenicier, 1, pp. 385-498), or Babylonian Izdubar, has failed (cf. Meyer, Geschichte d. Alter., p. 185; Bloch, Jahrb. ü. d. Fortschr., d. cl. Alter., vol. 124, 1905, p. 441; Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2136 ff.).

[1] Cf. p. 194 ff. [2] Cf. p. 215 ff. [3] Cf. p. 217 ff.

presented in writers so disparate in time and manner as Livy, Strabo, Solinus, and Diodorus. It is furthermore significant that the account of the last named writer goes back to a Greek historian of the third century B. C., and that the versions of each of the others can be traced directly to the early Greek-writing annalists of Rome.

Wissowa,[1] following Preller,[2] regards Cumae as the centre and ultimate source of the worship of Hercules in Italy. The chief support of this view lies in a notice of Festus[3] and a bronze vessel from the neighboring Capua. The text of Festus, however, is hopelessly corrupt. It reads:

Antigonus, Italicae historiae scribtor, ait, Rhomum quendam nomine, Iove conceptum, urbem condidisse in Palatio Romae eique dedisse nomen . . . . Historiae Cumanae compositor, Athenis quosdam profectos Sycionem Thespiadasque, ex quibus porro civitatibus, ob inopiam domiciliorum, conpluris profectos in exteras regiones, delatos in Italiam, eosque multo errore nominatos Aborigines, quorum subiecti qui fuerint Caeximparum viri, unicarumque virium imperio montem Palatium, in quo frequentissimi consederint, appellavisse a viribus regentis Valentiam.

Niebuhr's emendation,[4] *Caci improbi viri,* is comparatively simple and may be correct but it does not necessarily prove the antiquity of the myth for Cumae. For the nature, antiquity, and authenticity of the *Historia Cumana* are unknown. Such a work is nowhere else mentioned. In order to gain authority for it Reifferscheid[5] emends the notice of Pseudo-Servius *in Aen.,* 9. 707, *Lutatius communium historiarum,* where, as Schanz aptly remarks, " der

[1] Relig. u. Kult., p. 220.
[2] Röm. Myth., 3te Aufl., vol. 2, p. 280.
[3] S. v. Romam, p. 362 (P)=266 (M).
[4] Römische Geschichte, vol. 1, p. 225, n. 595.
[5] Rhein. Mus., vol. 15 (1860), p. 609.

Titel ist nicht zu ändern, sondern zu erklären." Consistency would also demand his emendation of Probus,[1] *Lutatius in primo communis historiae.* It would seem a safer course rather to emend the passage in Festus in order to bring it into harmony with these notices of a *communis historia.* A Lutatius, probably Lutatius Daphnis, the freedman of Q. Lutatius Catulus, appears to have written a general work dealing with Greek and Latin legends, called *communis historia.*[2] Granting that the corrupt text conceals the name of Cacus it is difficult to see why this notice from a late source should possess special significance for the antiquity of the myth at Cumae. For Cacus according to the scholia on Virgil also appears as Caeculus, on the authority of Cato, in the legends of Praeneste.[3] A number of Hercules inscriptions furthermore come from Praeneste.[4] The notice of Solinus 1. 7 is worthless for the substantiation of the antiquity of the Cumae theory.

A bronze dinos from Santa Maria di Capua[5] is further cited by R. Peter[6] in proof of the Italic character of the

[1] In Virg., Georg., 3. 293; cf. Philarg. in Verg. Georg. 4. 564.

[2] Riese, Rhein. Mus., vol. 18 (1863), p. 448 ff, regarded the work as a secular history as opposed to a sacred; cf. further Jahn, Persius, p. cxliii (ed. 1843); Peter, Hist. Rom. Frag., pp. 125-127; Mommsen, C. I. L. I, p. 389; Reifferscheid, Rhein. Mus., vol. 15 (1860), p. 609; H. Peter, N. Jahrb. f. Phil., vol. 115 (1877), p. 749 ff.; Teuffel, Röm. Litt., p. 142. 4; Müller, Festus, ad loc.; Klausen, Aeneas u. d. Penaten, vol. 2, p. 1223, n. 2494; Rohde, Rhein. Mus., vol. 48 (1893), p. 132; Peter, Hist. Rom. Rel., vol. 1, p. cclxx ff.; Schanz, Röm. Litt., vol. 1. 1, 3te Aufl., p. 289 f.; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p. 61.

[3] Schol Veron., in Aen., 7. 681; cf. above, p. 235; Serv., in Aen., 7. 682, 678; Solin. 2. 9.

[4] C. I. L. XIV, 2890 ff.

[5] Monumenti d. Inst., vol. 5 (1849-53), Tav. 25; Annali d. Inst., vol. 23 (1851), p. 36 ff.

[6] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2275.

myth as localized in the Campanian district. The bronze, regarded as a Greek work of the fifth century from Cumae, represents Hercules armed with club, bow, and lion's skin, driving a herd of seven cattle, but turning to look back upon a figure suspended from the branches of a tree by the wrists and ankles. A dog precedes the herd. A crouching lion, two panthers, and two wolves in pursuit of a hind are represented behind the suspended culprit. Minervini,[1] followed by Peter,[2] interprets the bronze as representing the punishment of Cacus by Hercules. This is merely a conjecture. In reality we do not know what particular phase of the Herakles myth may be here represented. It is apparently connected with the Geryon expedition but the name of the evil-doer is not Cacus. Cacus is the youngest of Herakles's plagues in the Geryon episode. In Liguria there were also Poseidon's sons, Alebion and Derkynos, and in Sicily Eryx, where the field of combat is still Campo d' Ercole.[3] If the Cacus incident were old enough to have found expression on an urn of the fifth century it is strange that the minute account of Timaeus in Diodorus should have taken no cognizance of this phase of the myth.[4] The only safe inference that can be drawn from the notices of Festus, Cato, and Solinus is that Cacus originally was probably a district deity for the entire Vesuvian volcanic region, whose precise character and habitat it is idle, in the light of present knowledge, to attempt to fix definitely. It is safe to assert, furthermore, that the

[1] Annali d. Inst., vol. 23 (1851), p. 42 ff.

[2] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2276; cf. Furtwängler, ibid. p. 2241.

[3] Cf. Diodor. 4. 23; Apollod. 2. 5; Serv., in Aen., 5. 411.

[4] Cf. Robert, Hermes, vol. 19 (1884), p. 480; Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2241; Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., pp. 220, 230; Friedländer, Herakles, p. 142.

myth of Cacus must for a long time have existed wholly apart from that of Hercules. In fact there is no evidence for believing that the peculiar blending of the two, the Hercules-Cacus myth as so commonly known from Virgil, was made before the time of Virgil himself.[1]

That Cumae performed an important part in the dissemination of the Greek Herakles myth and worship in Italy can admit of no doubt.[2] But it can scarcely be said to have been the sole avenue by which the personality of the Greek god came to Rome. For the ways of approach seem rather to have been two-fold, by means of the Greek cities of southern Italy on the one hand and of Etruria proper on the other.[3] The Geryon cycle itself, of which the Hercules-Cacus myth is merely an episode, as well as the shrines and countless representations of various phases of the Herakles myths in Etruscan art prove conclusively the influence exercised by Etruria, as Deecke has shown.[4] Herakles was certainly known to the Etruscans as early as the sixth century B. C., as the oldest of the Etruscan art works definitely prove, e. g. the bronze Herakles found in the Lake of Falterona and now in the British Museum.[5] It was in the sixth century that commerce between Greece and Etruria began.[6] The Geryon myth itself, furthermore,

[1] Cf. pp. 225, 236, 253.

[2] Wissowa, Relig. u. Kult., p. 220.

[3] Cf. Daremberg, vol. 3, p. 125.

[4] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, Herkle, pp. 2298-2300; Furtwängler, ibid. pp. 2135-2252, passim; Martha, L'Art Étrusque, figs. 216, 221, 375, pp. 321, 325, 326, 549.

[5] Murray, Greek Bronzes, p. 26, fig. 9; cf. fig. 14; Annali d. Inst., vol. 16 (1844), Tav. F; von Duhn, Un Sepolcro Étrusco Scoperto nel Giardino Margherita, Bologna, 1890, p. 20; Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2153.

[6] Martha, L'Art Étrusque, p. 126.

found artistic expression as early as the sixth century.[1] At what time the Italians associated their indigenous Cacus with the Greek hero cannot be definitely determined. It cannot have been before the sixth century for both the Geryon and Typhoeus myths, of which the Hercules-Cacus myth is little more than a remodelling, belong to the sixth century.[2] But the account of Diodorus, taken from Timaeus, proves that Cacus was known to be associated with the myth by the time of the third century at least. And his appearance in the rôle of a robber of some sort must have become a fairly fixed feature of the myth by the time of the earlier annalists in the second century. Cacus as a demon was apparently unknown to them. Later Virgil rehabilitated the demonic conception of Cacus, which may have been the earliest one in the folklore of the volcanic region—a Cacus not associated with the Hercules myth—and ascribed to him from literary sources the attributes of Typhoeus.[3]

[1] Cf. Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2203 f.
[2] Gruppe, Griech. Myth. u. Relig., vol. 1, p. 499.
[3] Cf. p. 231 ff.

CHAPTER IV

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE MYTH IN ART

Furtwängler[1] maintained that there is but one genuine, ancient representation of the Hercules-Cacus myth, and this representation, based on analogy of Theseus and the Minotaur, is on a medallion of Antoninus Pius. Fröhner[2] describes it thus: "le corps de Cacus est étendu à l' entrée de sa caverne. Armé d' une massue et la peau de lion sur l' épaule, Hercule reçoit les habitants du pays, qui viennent lui marquer leur reconnaissance et dont l' un embrasse la main du héros. C' est probablement le roi Évandre, avec les colons grecs." Peter[3] includes (1) an engraved gem in Berlin[4] showing Hercules asleep near the cattle and Cacus drawing some of them backwards into the cave: (2) a bas-relief of an unknown marble urn described by Montfaucon[5] also showing Cacus dragging the cattle tail-foremost into the cave, while Hercules lies asleep; and (3) the medallion of Marcus Aurelius resembling the Antoninus medallion save for the absence in the latter of the men welcoming Hercules.[6] To these Gard-

[1] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2251; Annali d. Inst., vol. 23 (1851), p. 47.

[2] Les Médaillons de l'Empire romain, p. 56; Eckhel, Doctrina Numorum, vol. 7, p. 29.

[3] Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2288.

[4] Winckelmann, Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch, Class. 2 nr. 1759 = Furtwängler, Beschreibung d. geschn. Steine im Antiquar, nr. 9583.

[5] Ant. Expliq., Suppl., 1, pl. 50-52.

[6] Eckhel, Doct. Num. vol. 7, p. 47; Fröhner, Méd. de l'Emp. Rom., p. 57; cf. p. 58; Cohen, Méd. Imp. Marc Aurel, 398.

ner is inclined to add an Attic black-figured vase of the sixth century found in Sicily. This vase Gardner first interpreted[1] as "Cacus dragging the oxen by their tails into a sort of shed, on the top of which reclines a Satyr, who with his flutes tries to drown the sound of their lowing. On the other side (of the vase) stands Herakles, his foot on a basis, which one is almost tempted to regard as the roofless walls of the shed which he has demolished, while he sings to the lyre a hymn of victory." Pernice[2] questioned this interpretation. By a brilliant comparison with an Attic lekythos at Berlin[3] showing the judgment of Paris Pernice came to the conclusion that the painting is meant to show Hermes seizing Paris, the shepherd, that he may escape the ordeal of the judgment. He maintains that the two legs belong, the one originally to Hermes, the other to Paris. There can be no doubt about the keenness of Pernice's comparison and the closeness of the resemblance. But Pernice's finding of the end of a herald's staff in the odd knot of the oxen's horns is not convincing. In a more recent article[4] Gardner combats the view of Pernice and continues to hold to the main lines of his former interpretation without asserting positively that the painting is intended to represent the theft of Cacus. The Herakles on the reverse is not necessarily a proof for the Cacus interpretation, for Herakles playing the cithara is frequent on black-figured vases of the fifth century.[5] An Attic black-

[1] J. H. S., vol. 13 (1893), pp. 70-76; Catalogue of Greek Vases in Ashmolean Museum, 211 Pl. 1 A. This view is accepted by Walters, History of Ancient Pottery, vol. 2, p. 101.

[2] Jahrbuch d. k. d. Arch. Inst., vol. 21 (1906), pp. 45-52.

[3] Op. cit., p. 48; Arch. Zeitung, 1882, Pl. xi; Furtwängler, Cat. Vases Berlin, No. 2005.

[4] J. H. S., vol. 26 (1906), pp. 226-228.

[5] Cf. Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2189.

figured vase of the sixth or early fifth century is quite unlikely to represent a phase of the Herakles myth that cannot possibly belong to the sixth century and is probably much later than the fifth.[1] The painting, furthermore, cannot represent "Cacus dragging the oxen by their tails into a sort of shed" for the very obvious reason that the position of legs and feet show conclusively that the shepherd is not dragging but driving. Neither can the vase be cited in support of the supposition that the Hercules-Cacus myth may be of Phoenician origin.[2] For while the vase was found in Sicily[3] it is certainly of Attic workmanship, as the drawing, the style of painting, especially the absence of the red base clearly show.[4] The difficulties inherent in the interpretations of both Gardner and Pernice make this interesting amphora a fit subject for further study.

Gardner's interpretation of the pedestal of the Herakles statue from Cyprus, representing Herakles and Eurytion, as a version of the Cacus myth showing Phoenician influence is wholly unconvincing.[5] It is a matter of surprise that so popular a myth was not more commonly represented in ancient works of art. In the art of the Renaissance it became a fairly common subject.[6]

[1] Cf. p. 270.

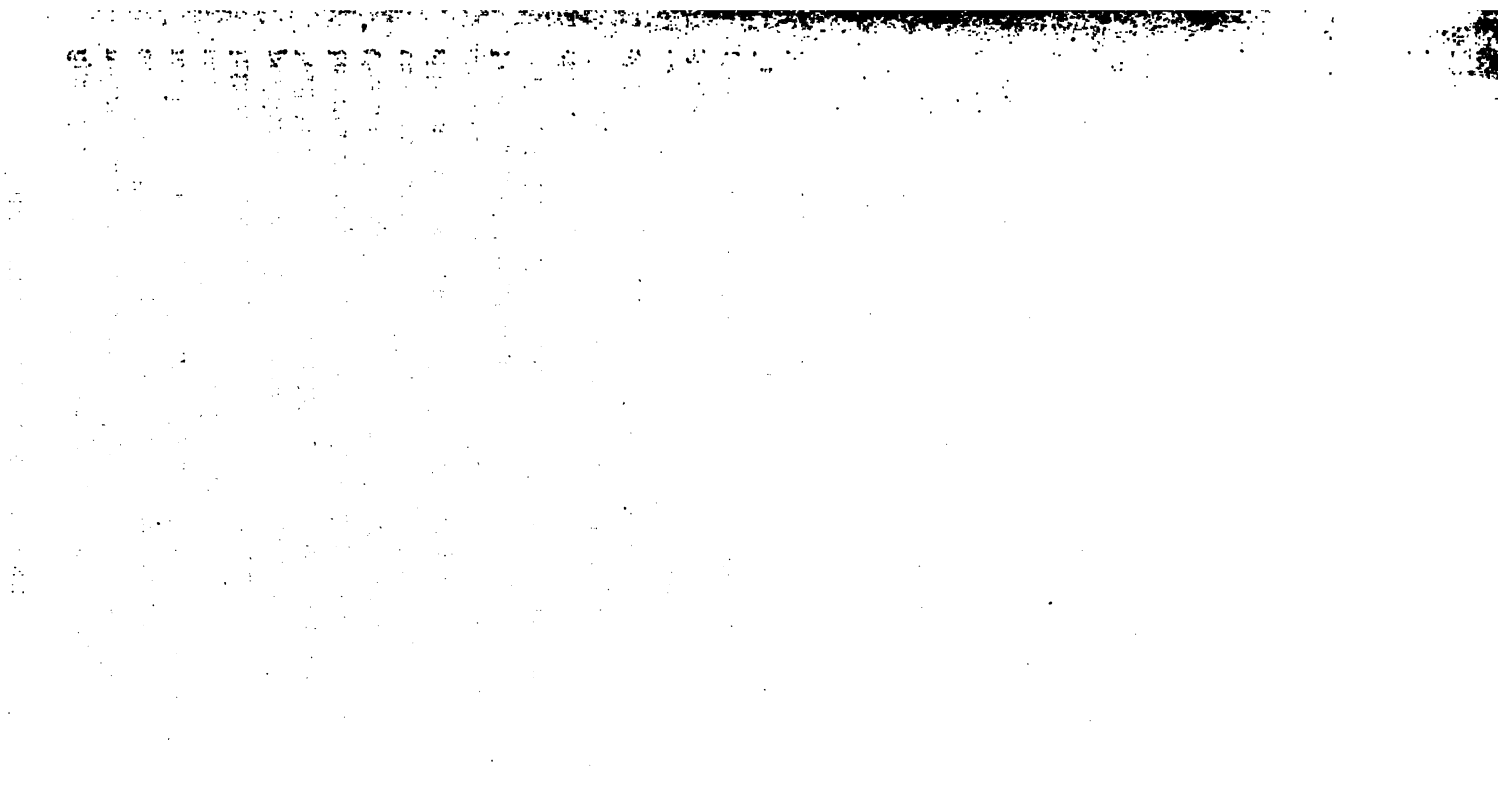
[2] J. H. S., vol. 13 (1893), p. 75.

[3] Evans, Catalogue of Greek Vases, p. viii.

[4] Cf. Pernice, Jahrb. d. k. d. Arch. Inst., vol. 21 (1906), p. 46.

[5] J. H. S., vol. 13 (1893), p. 74; cf. Perrot and Chipiez, History of Art in Phoenicia and Cyprus, vol. 2, p. 171; Voigt, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 1635.

[6] Furtwängler, Roscher's Lexikon, vol. 1. 2, p. 2251. A late but interesting representation occurs on a scodella, or shallow bowl on a low foot, attributed to Urbino. The painting is in the istoriato style, in ochreous red or orange, blue, green, and black. Cf. Barber, Tin Enameled Pottery, p. 10, fig. 4.



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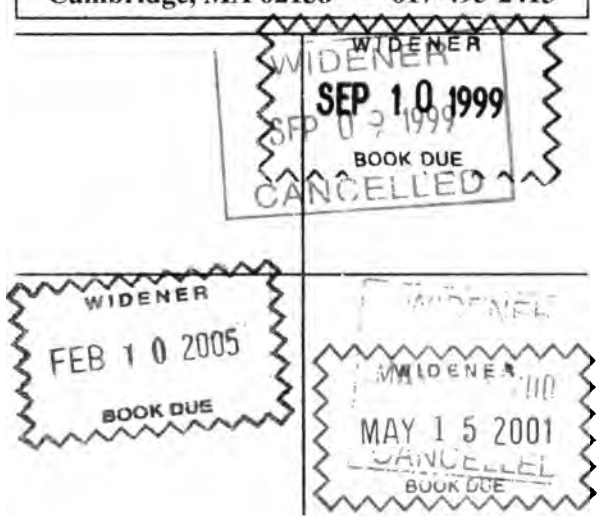

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